

past, then what is more probable or natural than to ascribe the authorship of the *Nyāyapraveśa* to the greatest logician of the pre-Diñnāga period, Ārya Nāgārjuna, the father of Mahāyāna Buddhism and the founder of the Mādhyamika School? Accordingly we find that Bunju Nanjio says in his *Catalogue* that the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa* is Nāgārjuna (p. 270 Nos. 1223, 1224); and Dr. Takakusu also says so in his *Record of the Buddhist Religion* by I-tsing. (pp. 177, 186). Their view seems to me to be probable; at any rate, I am not prepared to reject it summarily. I may also state that the eight *śāstras* of Jina or Diñnāga which it is said should be studied to gain mastery in logic, can be made out without reckoning the *Nyāyapraveśa* as one of them. They are (1) *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, (2) *Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra*, (3) *Hētucaakrahamaru*, (4) *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*, (5) *Pramāṇa-śāstra-Nyāyapraveśa*, (6) *Ālambana-parīkṣā*, (7) *Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti*, (8) *Trikālaparīkṣā*.

If Nāgārjuna be the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa*, then when did he live? Beal says that Nāgārjuna's time was about the first century B.C. (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World II* p. 215.) Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, however, says that it was about 250-320 A. C., but this date is obviously impossible, for it is well known that Śadvaharāja, that is a Śātavāhana king, was his patron, who built for him at almost fabulous cost the Brahmagiri *Sanghārāma*, where the Bodhisattva spent a large part of his life in meditation. (Beal II pp. 214 ff.); and the Śātavāhana or Āndhra line of kings came to an end about 225 A. C. (Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* p. 212). Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, indeed, quotes the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūlatantra*, according to which Nāgārjuna lived 400 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, that is, says the learned Doctor, in 33 B. C., though according to Dr. Vincent Smith the *Nirvāṇa* occurred about 487 B. C. (*Early History* p. 47) and according to Dr. Fleet in 483 B. C. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa however, writes: 'But he does not appear to me to have had so early a date, as he was one of the early patrons or founders of the University of Nālanda, which had not, perhaps, come into existence in the first century B. C., and was insignificant even in 399 A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian came to visit India (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 252). Surely, this is very inconclusive reasoning. We do not know when Nālanda first became a seat of learning; but are we so certain that Nāgārjuna was connected with Nālanda at all? Hiuen-Tsang does not mention him among the Nālanda sages, though he gives a fairly long list, which he closes, no doubt, with the expression 'and other eminent men whose names are lost'. Can Nāgārjuna be possibly brought

into the non-descript and inconspicuous group of 'other eminent men whose names are lost'? The name that Nālanda acquired as a seat of learning was so great, that even those who had not attended the Nālanda University are said to have usurped the appellation of Nālanda Paṇḍita, that their learning might be respected wherever they went. (Beal's *Buddhist Records II* 170). Perhaps, in later years it became a fashion of thought among foreign Buddhists to associate the names of all their most distinguished sages with Nālanda, with which undoubtedly many of them were connected. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa relies on a statement found in Tārānātha's *Buddhism in India*, a work of the 17th century, for saying that Nāgārjuna was an early founder or patron of the Nālanda University; and it seems to me he has exaggerated its value. I do not see that there is any valid reason for rejecting the traditional date for Nāgārjuna which is preserved in the *Mañjuśrī Mūlatantra*, according to which Nāgārjuna flourished as already stated, in the '400 years after the *Nirvāṇa*' or the fourth century A. N. Buddha's death has been assigned to various dates. Dr. Vincent Smith prefers 487 B. C. and Prof. Geiger and Dr. Fleet, 483 B. C. We may take the event to have happened between 490 and 480 B. C.; and the fourth century A. N. will be between 190 or 180 B. C. and 90 or 80 B. C. We learn from Hiuen-Tsang's *Travels* that the Śātavāhana king who was the patron of Nāgārjuna lived and ruled so long that his son almost despaired of being able to succeed him, and the king died in or about the same year as the sage. During the period we have indicated above, there was a Śātavāhana king Śātakarṇi, the sixth in the list of Āndhra kings, who ruled for the exceptionally long period of 56 years; and according to Dr. Vincent Smith's chronology of the Āndhras, the reign of this king extended from 153 B. C. to 97 B. C. Nāgārjuna is said to have lived for 70 years; and so his date may provisionally be taken to be c 167-97 B. C. On this basis, if Nāgārjuna was the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa* he was, *Mañimēkalai* need not be assigned to a period posterior to even the second century A. C.

Suppose, however, Diñnāga was really the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa*; then it falls to consider when Diñnāga lived. Professor A. Berriedale Keith says that Diñnāga remains of somewhat uncertain date (*J. R. A. S.* 1914, p. 1091). Prof. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri tells us that there is good evidence to believe that Diñnāga flourished in the earlier part of the fifth century; and for that statement he relies on the foreword to the *Tattva-saṅgraha*, published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, and on Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, p. 270. I have not been able to see what information the

former of these references contains, and cannot, therefore, say whether it is a critical judgment that it supplies or only, to use Goethe's phrase, the 'opinion of the foreman'. It is, however, noteworthy that the foreword to the *Tattva-saṅgraha* places Diñnāga, as is seen from Mr. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri's footnote at p. 197 of *J. O. R.*, more than a century in advance of the period to which he is assigned by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa. I have looked into Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's work. At the page cited by Prof. Kuppuswami Śāstri, the section on Diñnāga begins; and the section is headed, Diñnāga-c. 450, 520. There is nothing else about the date there. It is at p. 272 that the date of the great Buddhist logician is considered, as I think all too briefly and summarily. This is what we find there: "Diñnāga must have lived before 557-569 A.D. when two of his works were translated into Chinese. The early limit of his date is 480, when his teacher Vasubandhu lived. Diñnāga flourished possibly about 500 A.D." The edifice rests on loose, shifting sand. The date of Vasubandhu is a much discussed question. Watters, referring to a statement by Hiuen-Tsang explains it as denoting that Vasubandhu lived before the third century of the Christian era. Prof. Macdonell notices that some of Vasubandhu's works had been translated into Chinese by 404 A.C.; and it is reasonable to suppose that Vasubandhu must have lived some considerable time before that date. No doubt Dr. Takakusu would seek for Vasubandhu in the latter half of the 5th century, and Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa is obviously inclined to do likewise. If Kumārajīva translated Vasubandhu's works into Chinese in 404, Vasubandhu cannot possibly be assigned to 480 A.C. as Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa does. Besides after the investigations of M. Peri this date (480 A.C.) for Vasubandhu must be considered a good deal too late. Dr. Vincent Smith, who says it is impossible to resist the weight of M. Peri's arguments, comes to the conclusion that Vasubandhu was born about 280 A.C. and died about 360 A.C. (*Early History of India*, p. 328). Chinese testimony, we are told, affirms that Vasubandhu and his brother Asaṅga lived 'in the 900 years' after the *Nirvāṇa*, that is, according to the Chinese reckoning in or before the 2nd century of the Christian era. (Watters).

This is likewise the date we gather for Vasubandhu from his life written by Paramārtha who died in 569 A.C. From the materials available it seems to me that this date for Vasubandhu is as probable as any other date that has been assigned to him. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Diñnāga were contemporaries, and between them and Nāgārjuna there intervened in the succession of Buddhist teachers or divines only Āryadeva and Maitreya. Dr.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa allows a distance of 200 years between Nāgārjuna and Diñnāga; and the former of these two Buddhist teachers died probably (as I have tried to show) in the first century B. C. There is, therefore, nothing violent in assigning Diñnāga to the second century A.C. On that basis too, *Maṇimēkalai* need not be posterior to the close of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century, even if Diñnāga be the author of the *Nyāyapraveśa*.

Prof. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri has apparently satisfied himself that *Aravaṇa-vaṭikaḷ* is no other than Ācārya-Dharma-pāla, a well-known Buddhist logician of the post-Diñnāga period; because, forsooth, the expression *tamil* (தமிழ்) occurs in *Aravaṇa-vaṭikaḷ*'s enumeration of the sources of knowledge. The lines in *Maṇimēkalai* are

ஆதினேந்திரனாவையிரண்டே
தமிழ் பிரத்தியங் கருத்தளவென்ன.

Strangely, the learned Professor gives a twist to the order of words found in the text in interpreting the lines, and states that *tamil* should be taken along with *aḷavai*. If that be done, he says it would be an improvement on the statement in Diñnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccya*; and as the teaching contained in *Maṇimēkalai* differs in some material details from what is found in Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*, *Aravaṇa-vaṭikaḷ* must have come between Diñnāga and Dharmakīrti, and it would not be 'far-fetched or fanciful' to hold that the sage of *Maṇimēkalai* was Dharmapāla. This reasoning is hardly convincing. I do not see any reason for dislocating *tamil* from the place it occupies, and for reading *tamil aḷavai* instead of *tamil pirattiyam*. In poetic usage expressions like தமிழ் are not infrequently employed as merely intensive words of emphasis. Thus we find in the *Tiruvācakam*

தமிழ் இன் சொல் மாகதமே. 19. 5.
தில் பெரும்புகழ் எங்களீசன். 43. 31.
கோதிலா ஏருங்கொடி. 19. 40.
கோதில் அமுதானான். 31. 20.
கோதில் பெருந்துறைக்கோன். 19. 25.
கேடில் பெருந்துறைக்கோன். 19. 17.

Surely, it is too ambitious a structure that the learned Professor has attempted to raise on this single expression which it seems to me is too frail to bear the burden. Now, so far as we can gather from the Tamil epic, *Aravaṇa-vaṭikaḷ* was living at Kāvēri-ṭūm-paṭṭinam, when *Maṇimēkalai* first sought him, as directed by Tivattilakai; and he was then already well advanced in age. He afterwards went to Vañci, the capital of the Cēra, and thence to

Kāñcī, where *Maṇimēkalai* after several vicissitudes again sought him and received instruction from him in Buddhist philosophy and religion. He no doubt once went north on a pilgrimage to Gṛdhrakūṭa; but he spent his life mainly at Kāvēripattinam and latterly he resided in Kāñcī. Buddhism had declined in the land in his days; and as *Maṇimēkalai*'s detention in prison might suggest, Buddhists were, possibly, if not actually persecuted, at least regarded with disfavour. Could this sage be Dharmapāla? Dharmapāla was born in Kāñcīpura, and with that his connection with Kāñcī ceases; for when he was a young man he left his native place for North India, which became the scene of his activities. He had acquired great learning; and even as a youth he effectively refuted the arguments of the Brāhmaṇas at a convocation held in Kusabhavanapura on the Gomatī river, and converted to Buddhism even the king of Kauśāmbi who had called the meeting, besides the Brāhmaṇas who had opposed him. He became head of the Nālanda University, a position which we find him occupying even in his old age. (Beal's *Buddhist Records* I 237 ff. II-110 f; 171; 229 f). Apparently Buddhism was almost aggressively in the ascendant in his days; and he had the satisfaction of seeing even his pupils, like Śīlabhadra for example, refuting and vanquishing the Brāhmaṇas and gaining royal adherence to the Buddhist faith. It is difficult to imagine that Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ and Dharmapāla, who differed so completely in all known incidents of their personal history and during whose days there was such marked dissimilarity in the fortunes of their religious faith, could have been one and the same person. If Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ must needs be equated with some well-known name in Sanskrit Buddhism, why could it not be with Diṇṇāga himself? So far as I can see, the only excuse offered against it is the occurrence of *etamil*, a fanciful objection at the best. Diṇṇāga belonged to Kāñcīpura and unlike Dharmapāla spent a considerable part of his life in Āndhra-deśa. But, perhaps, *Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ* only means 'the Buddhist Guru'; or it may be taken to signify 'the sage of Aṛavaṇa', without denoting any specific individual bearing that name. It is said that Nāgārjuna met his patron, the Śātavāhana king, at Alamana or Aramana of which Aṛavaṇa may easily be a variant. It is not unreasonable to suppose that there was a Buddhist monastery there; and the Saṅgha of that particular community of monks will naturally be known as Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ. However it be, we know that in Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ's time Buddhism was at a low ebb. It is well known that during the first century B.C. and the first and second centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism was, as a result of Brahminical reaction and other

causes, on the wane; and therefore, it will not, it seems to me, be inappropriate if we place Aṛavaṇavaṭikaḷ, the Buddhist sage of the Tamil Epic, *Maṇimēkalai*, in the second century A.C.

Thus it appears that after all 'historical truth' need not fight shy of 'the current notions about the Śaṅgam age of Tamil Literature', which the learned Professor with needless sneer describes as 'mytho-poetic theories'—an expression for which he seems to have developed an exceptional affection, as may be judged by his use of it not only in his article here discussed, but also elsewhere.

THE LAST DAYS OF ŚRĪ ŚĀṆKARĀCĀRYA.

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I

Regarding the last days and the closing incidents of Śrī Śāṅkarācārya's life, conflicting theories are in vogue. The theories may be briefly stated thus:—

(1) That Śrī Śāṅkarācārya mounted the Grand Throne of Omniscience (Sarvajñapīṭha—सर्वज्ञपीठ) in Kāśmir, went to Badarī Nārāyaṇa and from there ascended to Kailāsa;

(2) That he mounted the Grand Throne at Conjeevaram, that he then went to Badarī Nārāyaṇa and that he thence left for Kailāsa; and

(3) That he mounted the Grand Throne at Conjeevaram and leaving the mutt, at the end of his life, in charge of his favourite disciple Śrī Sureśvarācārya gave up his gross body and took subtle form, remaining to this day, according to traditional belief, in the temple of Śrī Kāmākṣī at Conjeevaram.

The first of these theories is found in the Śāṅkaravijaya, ascribed to Mādhavācārya. It is popularly believed that this Mādhavācārya was the great sage and commentator Vidyāranyaswāmī, otherwise known as Sāyaṇācārya. He had two brothers by name Mādhava and Bhoga-nātha. The style of this Śāṅkaravijaya differs so much from Vidyāranya's style and even from that of his brother Mādhava, that we have to dismiss the idea, that either of the brothers wrote this work. The first śloka in this book, the benedictory verse alone is taken from Vidyāranyaswāmī's works, but immediately the style changes and becomes bombastic and even tough at places.

The style of this work, curiously enough, closely agrees with that of a work named 'Bhāgavata Campū' written by an author whose name is as-

certained from enquiry to be Mādhava. The coincidence is all the more striking when we find that the author of the "Bhāgavata Campū" calls himself *Navakālidāsa* (new Kālidāsa) and the author of this Śāṅkaravijaya also refers to himself as 'Navakālidāsa', and says that one who cannot appreciate his work, is like a Turk who kills a cow without appreciating its value. Such gross self-praise cannot be ascribed to a great philosopher and sage like Vidyāranya or even his brother Mādhava of Parāśara Mādhaviya.

Besides, the first twenty four ślokas in the twelfth sarga of this "Śāṅkaravijaya" are bodily taken from a work called "Śāṅkarābhyudaya" by Śrī Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, a great poet attached to the court of the Nāyak kings. These twenty-four ślokas are found in that work as ślokas 1, 2, 6 and 7 and 14 to 33 in the fourth sarga (*vide* the Sanskrit Journal सद्दया—Vol. XVII. Nos. 10 and 11). Again a śloka in Ānandagiri's "Śāṅkaravijaya," (unpublished) the oldest work on the subject, written as it was by Ānandagiri or Totaka, one of the disciples of Śrī Śāṅkarācārya, whom he calls his Paramaguru (परमगुरु) is found word for word in this work on Śāṅkaravijaya, save the last foot.

From these considerations it seems to be clear that the work "Śāṅkaravijaya" ascribed to Mādhavācārya is not an original or an ancient work, but more or less a compilation by a later aspirant to the grace of the poetic muse and it must be said that both the works "Śāṅkaravijaya" and "Bhārata Campū" are indeed very pleasing to read.

While this 'Śāṅkaravijaya' says that Śrī Śāṅkarācārya mounted the throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir, and, that he then left for Badarī Nārāyaṇa, sending his disciples to various mutts and that from there left for Kailāsa, the work 'Śāṅkaravijaya' by Cidvilāsendra says that the grand incident of Śrī Śāṅkara's life took place at Conjeevaram, but that he afterwards went to Badarī Nārāyaṇa after visiting several other places, and went up to Kailāsa from his Āśrama at Badarī Nārāyaṇa (chapters 25 and 31). It is indeed very curious that the very ślokas (91 and 92—16th Sarga) in the Śāṅkaravijaya ascribed to Mādhavācārya which place the incident of mounting of the Throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir, are the ślokas that refer to the incident as having taken place at Conjeevaram, in the Śāṅkarābhyudaya of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita (8th Sarga 68th and 69th ślokas. At the end of the eighth sarga, he says, that Śrī Śāṅkarācārya stayed at Conjeevaram to the end of his life, doing pūjā (worship) to Kāmeśvarī or Kāmakoṭī on the banks of the Kampā Saras.

कम्पातीरनिवासिनीमनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन्

ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत त्रिजगतां क्षेमङ्करः शङ्करः ॥

In saying that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir and in placing the last days of his life in Badarī Nārāyaṇa, it is quite probable that the account of the life of Ādi (the first) Śaṅkarācārya has been mixed up with that of another Śaṅkarācārya who was the 38th occupant of the Kāmakotī Pīṭha at Conjeevaram. This second Śaṅkarācārya was called "Dhīra Śaṅkarendra" (धीरशङ्करेन्द्रः) and from his history we learn that he made an all India tour like Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, mounted a Throne of Omniscience in Kāśmir, entered the Dattātreya Guha (the cave of Dattātreya) in the Himalayas and disappeared (Page 27, "Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and the Kāmakotī Pīṭha" by the author of this article).

An ancient work called (Śaṅkarācārya Caritram) very popular in Malabar, published by Nilakaṇṭha Nambi of Pattāmbi in Malayalam characters says, that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the Throne and attained Siddhi in Vṛṣācalam. In some manuscripts the place is spoken of as Gajācalam.

The seat of Śrī Varadarāja Svāmi called, Hasti-Giri-Vṛṣācalam, must be another name for Hasti-Giri or Gajācalam. It seems to be certain that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the Throne of Omniscience and spent his last days there. Both in the commentary on the "Gururātna Mālīkā" of Sadāśiva Brahmendra and in the Guruparamparā stotra found among manuscripts, we find Conjeevaram mentioned as the final seat of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's labours and as the place where he left his physical body (A rare manuscript—2146 I. Hultzsche-Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts No. 3).

तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् ।

विश्वरूपयति स्थाप्य स्वाश्रमस्य प्रचारणे ॥

[Viśvarūpa—is the other name by which Sureśvarācārya is known].

II

We glean from all the works on Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life that he did a great deal of town-planning and town-founding work at Conjeevaram. The commentator on the "Śaṅkaravijaya" ascribed to Mādhavācārya, says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya founded Śiva-Kāñcī with God Ekāmreśwara and Viṣṇu-Kāñcī with Varadarājaswāmi, had temples built, agrahārams

opened and Brahmins established therein, that he did much pioneering work of this sort with the help of the King Rājasena, but he says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya stayed there only one month, तस्मिन् काञ्चीनगरे मासमात्रं स्थित्वा ।

This seems to be really too short a time for so much work and moreover there is no reason why Śrī Śaṅkara should have taken so much trouble about this particular place, if he had already established his great mutt at Śrīngeri, according to Cidvilāsendra, who devotes more than three chapters to the stay and work of Śaṅkarācārya at Śrīngeri. He should have had certainly more permanent interest in the place for him, to have founded a town in a manner suited to his own taste.

It is well-known that Śaṅkarācārya established the Śrī Cakra—(or the Yantra of Śrī and Śakti) at Conjeevaram. Not only did he establish the Śrī Cakra at Conjeevaram, but he also planned the whole town in the form of Śrī Cakra and placed the image of Śrī Kāmākṣī in the Bindusthāna (the central part of the Cakra). All the temples in the town, instead of facing the east or the west, as is usual in all places, face the seat of Śrī Kāmākṣī and all the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva in the place take their festive rounds around the temple of Śrī Kāmākṣī. All these facts go to show undoubtedly that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya must have mounted the Grand Throne Omniscience at Conjeevaram, and that, as he had already finished all his preaching work, he considered it the best place for his final stay. It is only in Conjeevaram that there is so ancient Mūlavigraha of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and also a Utsava Vighraha. This is also a significant fact to support the above conclusion. It is known also that he left his favourite disciple Sureśvarācārya in his seat, when he decided to stop his work and this event is permanently testified to in the existence of an agrahāram called Maṇḍana Miśra Agrahāra, Maṇḍana Miśra being the name of Sureśvarācārya before he became a disciple of the Guru.¹

Thus we are perforce led to agree with the author of the "Śaṅkarābhūdāya" and conclude that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya finally stayed at Conjeevaram after mounting the Throne of Omniscience there. We could well believe his statement that he spent the last days of his life in doing pūjā to Kāmāśvarī on the banks of Kampā-Saras.

This conclusion is supported by the statement of Ānandagiri (or Toṭaka) the direct disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, that Śrī Śaṅkara left his

1. This is based on the tradition recorded in the Mādhaviya Śaṅkaravijaya; but it is definitely wrong as has been shown elsewhere. [Ed.]

gross body and took the subtle form at Conjeevaram. He further says that Śaṅkarācārya brought five *sphaṭika liṅgas* (स्फटिकलिङ्गानि) from Kailāsa, that he established four of them at Badarī Nārāyaṇa in Nilakanṭha Kṣetra in Nepal, in Śringeri, and in Cidambaram, and that he took with himself his favourite and most powerful liṅga, the Yogaliṅga (योगलिङ्ग), that he was worshipping it at Conjeevaram and that when the time came for his leaving the physical world, he gave it to Sureśvarācārya, whom he left in charge of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha (कामकोटिपीठम्) of Conjeevaram and of the mutt, known as the Śārada mutt (not to be confounded with the Śārada Pīṭha of Śringeri). All these facts are in keeping with the traditional story handed down from generation to generation among the people in Southern India.

The ancient Purāṇa known as *Śiva Rahasya*, says in the 9th Aṁśa, 16th Chapter, that the *yoga liṅga* was placed in Śrī Śaṅkara's own āśrama in Conjeevaram, where he had his final liberation from the physical world.

तद्योगभोगवरभुक्तिसुमेक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनाप्राप्तजयस्वकाश्रमे ।

तान्ने विजित्य तरसाक्षतशास्त्रवादैर्मिश्रान् स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप ॥

We may compare with this the śloka in *Mārkaṇḍeya Samhitā*, referring to the close of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's life at Conjeevaram (Kāṇḍa 72, Parispanda 7)

काञ्च्यांश्रीकामकोटिं कलिमलशमनीं कल्पयित्वा सुरेशे

श्रीविद्याराजपीठार्चनमहितमहाराज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीम् ।

संवेद्यात्मीयशिष्ये सकलभुवनसंमोदहेतोर्महात्मा

चिद्रूपस्वानुभूतिं भजति भवमहाम्भोधिसन्ताराणाय ॥

काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटौ तु योगलिङ्गमनुत्तमम् ।

प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुरेशार्यं पूजार्थं युयुजे गुरुः ॥

Again, Śrī Harṣa in his "Naiṣadha" referring to the kings that were present at the Svayamvara of Damayantī in the 12th Sarga, speaks of the King of Conjeevaram, as the king that hailed from the city where Yogeśvara was worshipped in Sphaṭika Liṅga. (स्फटिकभूर्जगति योगेश्वरः) In some editions the word is printed as Yāgeśvara (यागेश्वरः). The word Yāgeśvara bears no meaning in the context.

Again in his Patañjali Caritra, Śrī Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita also, a poet attached to the Nāyak kings, says that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya stayed in his last days at Conjeevaram and obtained *Mukti with his body*, (i.e.) that he disappeared, assuming a subtle form, as has been said before.

गोविन्ददेशिकमुपास्य चिराय भक्त्या तस्मिन् स्थिते निजमहिम्नि विदेहमुक्त्या।
अद्वैतमाल्यमुपकल्प्य दिशो विजित्य काञ्चीपुरे स्थितिमवाप स शङ्करार्यः ॥

(8th Sarga śloka 71.)

From such varied and reliable evidence, it seems to be clear that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya mounted the throne of Omniscience at Conjeevaram, that he spent the last days of his life at Conjeevaram, left the Śārada mutt, Kamakoti Pīṭha and Yogeśvara Sphaṭika Liṅga in the charge of his first, and foremost and favourite disciple Śrī Sureśvarācārya—the spiritual lineal descendant of the Sarvajña Pīṭha hailing to this day, and disappeared from human view, at the age of thirty two, having triumphantly established his advaitic doctrines over the whole of India, the glorious land of Gods and Rṣis

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS.

- (1) Śivarahasya Purāṇa .. Ascended the Pīṭha at Kāñci and stayed there till the end.
- (2) Śaṅkarābhyudaya .. Ascended the Pīṭha at Kāñci and stayed to the last.
- (3) Ānandagiri Śaṅkara-vijaya .. Established the Kāmakoti Pīṭha at Kāñci, founded a supreme mutt there and stayed in it till the end.
- (4) Mārkaṇḍeya Samhitā .. Established the Pīṭha and mutt at Kāñci.
- (5) Gururātna Mālikā .. Ascended the Pīṭha at Kāñci, established his supreme mutt and stayed to the last.
- (6) Guruparamparā Stotra (a rare Manuscript recorded by Hultzsch) .. Established his āśrama or mutt at Kāñci with Sureśvara as successor and stayed there to the last.
- (7) Śaṅkarācārya Caritram in Malayālam characters .. Ascended the Sarvajña Pīṭha at Kāñci and stayed till the last moment at Vṛṣācala.
- (8) Patañjali Carita .. Stayed at Kāñci to the end.
- (9) Cidvilāsiya .. Founded the Sarvajña Pīṭha at Kāñci and thence went to Kailāsa.
- (10) Mādhaviya Śaṅkara-vijaya .. Ascended the Sarvajña Pīṭha at Kāśmīr and thence to Kailāsa.

THE CONTEMPORARIES OF PERIYĀLVĀR.

BY

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Mr. M. Rāghava Aiyangār has recently (*ante*, v. 1, pp. 157-166) tried to prove, after a detailed inquiry, that the *Tiruppāvai* was composed in 731 A. C. As, in the same issue (pp. 167-169), I have arrived at 850 A.C. as the date of the same work, I gladly accept his invitation to criticise his views, and hope that my arguments will meet with greater consideration than he was pleased to accord to my paper on *The Date of Maṇḍalapuruṣa* (*Jour. Myth. Soc.*—v. 24, pp. 120, 121), which he dismissed in a foot-note as superficial and ill-informed, without attempting to meet any of my arguments in support of the accepted view against the new theory he was propounding.

On the chronological value of the astronomical date found in the *Tiruppāvai* and on the inferences to be drawn therefrom, we differ little, except that my list of possible dates is more exhaustive and accurate. His list, for instance, omits, among others, my date of 850 A. C. and includes 885 and 886 A.C., which I have shown to be unsuitable. But he relies mainly on the historical reasons for placing Periyālvār and his daughter in the 8th century A. C.; and, as his date 731 A.C. is also one of my possible dates, my criticism will be confined to discussing the validity of his historical reasons.

It is a pity that Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's paper is written in a diffuse style, and that he has not given his own summary of his arguments. I hope that the following analysis of his arguments will be found fairly exhaustive and accurate, and I shall take that as the basis of my criticisms, point by point.

Summary analysis of Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's arguments.

(1) Periyālvār refers to the Pāṇḍya Neḍumāraṇ as his contemporary. This Neḍumāraṇ must be identified with Māraṇvarman III of the Vēlṅikuḍi

plates, as both his *mantri* Māraṇ-Kāri and son Jaṭila Parāntaka were Vaiṣṇavas, while his predecessors were all Śaivas; and his conversion must be due to the influence of a great *guru* like Periyālvār.

(2) Parāntaka had the title Śrīvallabha, by which the king, who honoured Periyālvār, is referred to in the *Guruparamparās*; and this honouring of his *guru* is referred to in the Madras Museum plates, in connection with Parāntaka.

(3) Periyālvār refers to the Viṣṇu temple, built by Parāntaka at Pēṇūr in the Kōṅgu country.

(4) In the 7th century A.C., religious conflicts were between the *vaidiks* and the heretics, while the conflicts between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas happened in the 8th century A.C.; and Periyālvār flourished in the latter period.

(5) Periyālvār is known to have been the contemporary of the Ālvārs—Nammālvār, Kulaśekhara, Tondaraḍippōḍi and Tirumaṅgai—all of whom are known to have lived in the 8th century A.C.

(6) All the Ālvārs must have passed away long before Nādamuni (born 825 A.C.), the earliest of the Ācāryas.

I. The identity of Periyālvār's contemporaries—Neḍumāraṇ and Śrīvallabha.

It is well known that Periyālvār refers to a Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāraṇ (*Periyālvār Tirumōḻi* 4.2.7) as his contemporary. But between c. 600 and c. 903 A.C., the probable limits of Periyālvār's age, there were five Pāṇḍyas named Māraṇvarman, for *neḍu* is only an epithet meaning 'great'; and the difficulty can be overcome only by relating this fact to another, that the traditional biographies (*Guruparamparās*) mention the honour paid to Periyālvār as *guru* by a Pāṇḍya Śrīvallabha. In early Pāṇḍya inscriptions, we hear of only one Śrīvallabha, the son of Varaguṇa I (Bigger Cinnamanūr plates—edited in *Sen Tamil*, v. 23, pp. 219-224; 257-262). He is also called Śrī Māra. Śrī Māra must therefore be the Śrīvallabha of the *Guruparamparās*, and the Neḍumāraṇ of Periyālvār; and Periyālvār must have lived in the 9th, not the 8th, century A.C.

But Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār objects that we do not know that Śrī Māra was a Vaiṣṇava. True; but neither do we know that he was not a Vaiṣṇava, while Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār himself admits that Māraṇvarman II, with whom he identifies the Neḍumāraṇ of Periyālvār, was, on the other hand, an open Śaiva. The Vēlṅikuḍi plates, indeed, distinctly say that Māraṇvarman II was a devotee of Paśupati; and there is nothing whatever

to show that he was ever anything else, while Periyālvār's Neḍumāraṇ was a true Vaiṣṇava (*Periyālvār-Tirumoli* 4.2.7). It cannot be contended that this Māravarman became a Vaiṣṇava in his later life, and that his son Jaṭila was a Vaiṣṇava from his birth. For, in his 3rd year, the latter was a Śaiva, as his Vēlvikuḍi plates invoke Śiva alone (my ed. in *Jour. Myth. Soc.* v. 13, pp. 453-458), and he himself became a Vaiṣṇava before his 17th year, as his Madras Museum plates clearly indicate by the words *parama-Vaiṣṇavan tān āki* (*Ind. Ant.* v. 22, pp. 69-72). Periyālvār's Neḍumāraṇ therefore cannot be identified with Jaṭila Parāntaka's father. As to the identity of Śrīvallabha, it is no doubt not one of the numerous titles of Jaṭila Parāntaka given in his Madras Museum and Vēlvikuḍi plates, and neither Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār, nor his authority Mr. Gopinātha Rao, have been able to adduce any evidence for the identity of Śrīvallabha with Jaṭila Parāntaka. But I have myself come across a fact, which seems to support Parāntaka's claim to the title Śrīvallabha. Jinasēna says that he completed his *Harivamśa* in Śaka 705=783 A.C., when, among others, Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṇa, was ruling the north, and Śrīvallabha the south. Vallabha was the common title of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, but as Śrīvallabha is distinguished from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indrāyudha, it seems that he was the ruler of the country further south; and, as no Pallava seems to have held the title; he was probably a Pāṇḍya. In 783 A.C. the Pāṇḍya king was Jaṭila Parāntaka, who, in his Madras Museum plates, claims victories over the Pallavas, and so he might, after all, have held the title Śrīvallabha also. But Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's own date for the *Tiruppāvai* precludes the possibility of his having been identical with the Śrīvallabha of Periyālvār. For, according to him, the *Tiruppāvai* was composed in 731 A.C., not long before Śrī Kōḍai was absorbed into the image of Śrī Rāṅganātha, while yet she was in her early youth; and the *Guruparamparās* inform us that, at the time of this last event, Śrīvallabha had already found his *guru* in Periyālvār. If so, Śrīvallabha must have been ruling in c. 731 A.C., while Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār himself admits that Jaṭila Parāntaka's rule began only in 767 A.C. This date for Parāntaka's accession was first proposed by me in 1920 (*Jour. Myth. Soc.* v. 10, p. 184). But now I should place the event between 767 and 770 A.C. For, Māraṇ Kāri, the *ājñaptā* of the Vēlvikuḍi plates dated in Jaṭila Parāntaka's 3rd year, died before they were engraved, as indicated by the word *āsīt*, but was alive and built the Ānaimalai temple in 770 A.C. (*Epi. Ind.* v. 8, No. 33), when Parāntaka was the ruling king. 770 A.C. therefore fell between the 1st and 3rd years of Parāntaka, thus placing his accession between 767 and 770 A.C. In this view, also, the

ruling king in 731 A.C. was Māravarman and not Parāntaka. Periyālvār's Śrīvallabha therefore cannot be identical with Parāntaka.

Another argument, adduced by Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār for proving the identity of Periyālvār's Śrīvallabha with Parāntaka, is that Śrīvallabha is said to have honoured Periyālvār, while the Madras Museum plates apply the words *guru-caritam koṇḍāḍi* to Parāntaka. But the context clearly shows that Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has misunderstood the meaning intended. For the passage reads as follows:—*Manu-darśita mārgattināl guru-caritam koṇḍāḍi kaṇṭaka-śūḍhanai tān śeydu kaḍanjñālam muḷudaḷikkum... Parāntakan.* It means that Parāntaka followed in the footsteps of his ancestors, by holding fast to the path prescribed of old by Manu, and removing the thorns of State (evil-doers). This is the meaning understood by Mr. Veṅkayya, who published the Madras Museum plates in 1893. Manu's path is well known and is referred to in ancient works like the *Raghuvamśa* (I-17); and *guru-caritam koṇḍāḍi* is obviously a Tamil translation of *guru-caritam anusṛtya*. It seems strange that, in spite of these well-known facts, Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār should seek to derive a chronological significance in these words, with regard to the age of Periyālvār.

II. Periyālvār's reference to Parāntaka's Viṣṇu temple at Pērūr.

Periyālvār refers to Viṣṇu as residing, among other places, in the Koṅgu country (2.6.2), and, in this reference, Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār finds an allusion to the Viṣṇu temple which, according to the Madras Museum plates, (not, as Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār says, the Vēlvikuḍi plates), Parāntaka is said to have built at Pērūr on the river Kāṇū (Noyyal). Such an allusion is of course possible, but by no means necessary, as the Pērūr temple was not the only Viṣṇu temple in the Koṅgu country. Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār is himself aware of the Viṣṇu temple at Karuvūr, which he would identify with the Āḍakamēḍa of the *Śilappadikāram* and date back so early as the Śaṅgam age; and to argue that it was not glorified by Ālvārs would be begging the question, in view of the possibility that it was the temple referred to by Periyālvār, and of the fact that the Pērūr temple too has not been hymned by the other Ālvārs. Granting, however, that Periyālvār had the Pērūr temple alone in mind, it does not follow that Periyālvār should have lived only in the 8th century A.C., and not at any other period after the temple was built by Parāntaka in c. 785 A.C.

III. *Periyālvār's religious conflicts.*

Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār argues that in the 7th century A.C. there were bitter religious conflicts between the followers of the vaidik faith and heretics like Buddhists and Jains, that this period was followed by a period of contention between the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas for the adherence of the masses to their respective faiths, and that, as Periyālvār evidently belonged to the latter period, he must be assigned to the 8th century A.C. This argument involves a double misunderstanding of both the religious history of South India, and Periyālvār's mission in life. The two periods referred to were in fact parallel and not successive. The religious conflicts were quadrangular and not bilateral. Jains and Buddhists, Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas were, from the 6th to the 9th century A.C., contending side by side for popular hold. The *Maṇimēkalai* (6th century A.C.) contains in canto 29 a vivid illustration of this fact. No argument can be based on the relative chronology of the protagonists in these conflicts, as that chronology has not yet been settled beyond reasonable doubt. It is still uncertain whether Māṇikya-vācaka preceded or succeeded the Tēvāram hymnists, and, if the 9th-century-date be accepted for this "hammer of the Buddhists", Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār's view as to the relative chronology of religious conflicts must be given up. There is thus no justification for placing Periyālvār definitely in the 8th century A.C., even if he is found to have taken part in these conflicts. But, in fact, he had no share in them at all. He spent his whole life in humble service of God in his own village, and he was diverted from this quiet life only on two occasions. One was in connection with his daughter's marvellous marriage. The other was when he went, by God's command, to Śrī-Vallabha's court and, after enlightening the king and his court, was treated by him with great honour. Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār evidently refers to this latter occasion. But it had no connection with religious conflicts. Periyālvār was, on the other hand, addressing those who were already Vaiṣṇavas; and he himself refers to the *rājaguru* Abhimānatuṅga Śelvanambi as an old servant of Viṣṇu, like himself (*Tirupṭallāṇḍu* 11). This incident therefore in the life of Periyālvār cannot help us to fix his date in the 8th century A.C.

IV. *Ālvārs, contemporary with Periyālvār.*

Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār argues that Periyālvār can be proved to have been a contemporary of the Ālvārs, Nammālvār, Kulaśēkhara, Tondaraḍippōḍi, and Tirumaṅgai, and that, as all of them lived in the 8th century A.C.,

Periyālvār also should be assigned to the same century. In proof of the former statement, he urges (i) that the *Divyasūricarita* of Garuḍavāhana, a contemporary and disciple of Śrī Rāmānujācārya (c. 1150 A.C.), introduces all these Ālvārs in connection with Śrī Kōḍai's marriage, (ii) that Periyālvār's Māravarman was, according to the Cinnamanūr plates, the foe of Pallavamalla, of whom Tirumaṅgai was lavish in praise, and (iii) that all these Ālvārs refer in glowing terms to the countless devotees of Viṣṇu spreading their faith their synchronism, as the Vaiṣṇava faith might have flourished in the Tamil country for several centuries, and in fact it did. As for the 2nd argument, I believe I have adduced above sufficient reasons for discrediting the synchronism of Periyālvār with the Māravarman of the 8th century A.C.; and the synchronism of Māravarman III with Pallavamalla occurs, not in the Cinnamanūr, but the Vēlvikuḍi plates. The synchronism mentioned in the Cinnamanūr plates is quite different. They say that Parāṅkuśa defeated the Pallavas at Śāṅkaramaṅgai. But Mr. Veikayya, whom Mr. Rāghava Aiyāṅgār and others, all except the late Mr. Gopinātha Rao, blindly follow, wrongly identified this Parāṅkuśa with Māravarman III, with the result that two Arikēsari, Parāṅkuśas, three Rājasimhas and two Nelvēli battles sprang out of nowhere, and that an utter mess was made of early Pāṇḍya genealogy and chronology, which unfortunately has survived to this day. I shall here attempt briefly to clear this confusion and establish the correct view of early Pāṇḍya genealogy, after first dealing with the argument based on the *Divyasūricaritam*. This argument alone deserves consideration, as the work gives the earliest available account of the Ālvārs; and, if it is confirmed by the internal evidence of *Nālāyiram*, we may accept the general synchronism of the Ālvārs, Periyālvār and his daughter, Nammālvār and his disciple Madhurakavi, Kulaśēkhara, Tondaraḍippōḍi and Tirumaṅgai. Another detail given in the biographical accounts tends to confirm part of this synchronism. For Tirumaṅgai is said to have met Tondaraḍippōḍi, and, out of respect for him, to have made a *detour* in the walls he built around the Śrīraṅgam temple, to avoid cutting up his *tulasī* garden.

V. *Early Pāṇḍya Genealogy and Chronology.*

I shall now take up the vexed question of early Pāṇḍya genealogy and chronology, as, like King Charles' head, it tends to turn up everywhere during the course of the present discussion. The Vēlvikuḍi plates mention a Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Asamasaman Māravarman as the successor of Śēndan (=Jayanta), as the hero of Pāḍi, Nelvēli and Śēnilam, and as the father of

the hero of Marudūr. The smaller Cinnamanūr plates likewise mention an Arikēsari Asamasaman Māvarman as the successor of Jayantavarman, as the hero of Nelvēli and as the father of the hero of Marudūr. The identity of these two heroes of Nelvēli is therefore quite clear. The *Kaḷaviyalurai* refers to a Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Neḍumāraṇ as the hero of Pāḷi, Nelvēli, Śennilam and Śaṅkamaṅgai. The battles of Pāḷi, Nelvēli and Śennilam identify this Arikēsari with the Arikēsari of the Vēlvikuḍi and smaller Cinnamanūr plates. The bigger Cinnamanūr plates mention a Pāṇḍya Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa as the hero of Nelvēli and Śaṅkamaṅgai. The titles Arikēsari and Parāṅkuśa, and the battle of Nelvēli are common to the hero of the *Kaḷaviyalurai* and the Parāṅkuśa of the bigger Cinnamanūr plates; and the battles of Śaṅkamaṅgai and Śaṅkamaṅgai are evidently identical. So the identity of the Parāṅkuśa of the bigger Cinnamanūr plates with the hero of the *Kaḷaviyalurai* may be safely inferred. This identity is confirmed by the fact that Rājasimha is said to be Arikēsari's grandson in both the Vēlvikuḍi and bigger Cinnamanūr plates. We therefore collate the Vēlvikuḍi with the bigger Cinnamanūr plates and conclude that the early Pāṇḍya succession was as follows:—

- (1) Kaḍuṅkōṇ; his son
- (2) Māvarman Avani-cūḍāmaṇi; his son
- (3) Śēndan=Jayantavarman; his descendant
- (4) Māvarman Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Asamasaman, hero of Nelvēli, Śaṅkamaṅgai, Pāḷi and śennilam; his son
- (5) Jaṭila=Śaḍaiyan Rāpadhīraṇ, hero of Marudūr; his son
- (6) Māvarman Rājasimha, foe of Pallavamalla; his son
- (7) Jaṭila=Neḍuṇḍaiyan Parāntaka; accession between 767 and 770 A.C.; his brother
- (8) Varaguṇa=Māraṇḍaiyan; his son
- (9) Śrī Māraṇ Śrīvallabha; his son
- (10) Varaguṇa II; accession 862 A.C.; his brother
- (11) Parāntaka Śaḍaiyan Vīraṇārāyaṇa; his son
- (12) Māvarman Rājasimha II, defeated by Cōḷa Parāntaka I (907-953 A.C.) before 921 A.C. (*South Ind. Ins.* v. 2, p. 387).

VI. The date of Nammālvār.

Accepting the synchronism of the Ālvārs mentioned above, it does not follow that Periyālvār should have lived in the 8th century A.C. Nammālvār,

vār, for instance, must be later than c. 785 A.C., as he has devoted a decade to the temple of Śrīvaramaṅgalam, a village so named after one of his own titles and granted to Sujjāta Bhaṭṭa by Jaṭila Parāntaka in his 17th year, as recorded in his Madras Museum plates (*Tiruvāymoḻi* 5-7). But Mr. Rāghava Aiyaṅgār argues from his names Kāri-Māraṇ and Parāṅkuśa that he was the son of Māraṇ-Kāri and took the name Parāṅkuśa in honour of his liege-lord Māvarman Parāṅkuśa, father of Jaṭila Parāntaka. But, as we have seen already, the identification of Parāṅkuśa with Parāntaka's father is a mistake, and Parāṅkuśa lived at least 3 generations before Nammālvār and therefore could not have been the latter's liege-lord, even if a saint from his birth could be said to have an earthly liege-lord. As for the argument from the name Kāri-Māraṇ, it may be pointed out that Kāri-Māraṇ was a Vēlāḷa of Karukūr, while Māraṇ-Kāri was a Vaidya of Kaḷakkuḍi, and that Māraṇ-Kāri's father was Māraṇ, while Kāri-Māraṇ's father's father was Poṭkāri. If, moreover, Nammālvār had been the son of Māraṇ-Kāri, it would be certainly strange that he should omit to honour his supposed father's Ānaimalai temple with his hymn, when he has so honoured the Mōhūr temple close to it (*Tiruvāymoḻi* 10.1). We can therefore safely conclude that Nammālvār must be later than c. 785 A.C. But he must have lived before 883 A.C., when the title Śaṭhakōpa, conferred on him for the first time for a specific reason, came to be used as the personal name of an ordinary person in an inscription at Tirukkannapuram in the Tanjore district. If, moreover, the earliest extant accounts of the *Divyasūricaritam* and the *Guruparamparai* of Pinbaḷakiya Perumāl Jīyar (13th century A.C.) can be relied upon for their astrological details, as well as for their historical statements, we can fix Nammālvār's date more closely still. For, while they give only the natal months and *nakṣatras* for the other Ālvārs and the cyclic year Nala also for Tirumaṅgai, they give full astrological data for Nammālvār's birth alone. According to them, Nammālvār was born on the 43rd day of Kali, cyclic year, Bahudhānya, month Vaikāśi, full-moon day of Viśākha *nakṣatra*, Friday, Karkaṭaka *lagna*. We may safely ignore the 43rd day of Kali of pious antiquity, and, accepting the other data, arrive with Mr. L. D. Swāmikanṇu Piḷḷai, at 4th May 798 A.C., as the only date satisfying all the given data between 500 and 1000 A.C. This date falls within the limited period we have already arrived at for Nammālvār, 785 to 883 A.C.; and enables us to infer that Varaguṇamaṅgai, which he has sung, must, on the analogy of Śrīvaramaṅgalam have been founded by Varaguṇa I. Nammālvār's date therefore does not enable us to place Periyālvār in the 8th century A.C.

VII. *The date of Kulaśekharaļvār.*

The traditional accounts of Kulaśekharaļvār say that, after visiting the birth place of Nammālvar, he spent his last days near it at Brahmadesam. He should therefore have certainly lived long after 798 A.C. Again he calls himself the Lord of Kolli, the chief of Kūḍal, and the king of Kōli and Koṅgu (*Perumāl-Tirumoli* 2-10; 3-9). This definite statement cannot be a mere boast, as he was incapable of self-conceit and untruth. He was therefore the sole sovereign of the entire Tamil country, though by birth he was only a Cēra King. After 880 A.C., the Cōlas were so powerful as to preclude a Cēra King lording it over them, till the time of Ravivarman Kulaśekhara (c. 1300 A.C.). On the contrary, tracts of the Cēra country were most of the time subject to the Cōlas or Pāṇḍyas. Kulaśekhara must therefore have lived before 880 A.C. Between 857 and 880 A.C., the rulers of Vēṇaḍ (South Travancore) were Aḍakkan Śrīvallabha and his son Vikramāditya Varaguṇa (*Trav. Arch. Ser. v. 1*, pp. 5, 187-195). Their very tiles suggest that they admitted the supremacy, not of the Cēras, but of the Pāṇḍyas Śrīvallabha and Varaguṇa II; and since the former Pāṇḍya died in 862 A.C. (*Ann. Rep. Epi-Madras* No. 705 of 1905), Kulaśekhara could not have lived after 862 A.C. His period thus falls between 798 and 862 A.C. The Pāṇḍyas of this period, Varaguṇa I and Śrīvallabha were both powerful kings, and could not have admitted Kulaśekhara's supremacy. His claim to the chieftainship of Kūḍal (Madura) has therefore to be explained in some other way. I suggest, following the Malabar tradition, that his family was of Pāṇḍya origin. Kulaśekhara thus lived more probably in the 9th than in the 8th century A.C., and his contemporary Periyālvar should be likewise assigned to the same period.

VIII. *The date of Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Āļvār.*

We have already referred to the tradition connecting Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi Āļvār with Tirumaṅgai Āļvār. The other data relating to him, which are of any chronological value, are few. One is that the title Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, which he assumed in his humility, is found used as a common name in 943 A.C. (*Ann. Rep. Epi-Mad.* No. 107 of 1907). This fact implies for him a date not later than the 9th century A.C. The other is that tradition, as recorded in the *Guruparāmparai*, places him in the time of a king called Dharmavarman Cōla. This name is not found in the complete list of later Cōlas, beginning with Vijayālaya. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi must therefore have lived before 880 A.C., when Āditya succeeded Vijayālaya. Neither is Dharmavarman one of the Cōlas of the Śaṅgam age. At the close of the

Śaṅgam age, the Cōla power had dwindled so much, that from c. 600 to 850 A.C., their country was part of the Pallava kingdom, and in c. 640 A.C. Hiuen-Tsang found the Cōlas themselves petty chiefs of the Cuddappah district, far from their own country. Hiuen-Tsang's statement is borne out by the discovery, in this region, of the inscriptions of a local Cōla dynasty, whose members claimed descent from Karikāla Cōla of the Śaṅgam age, but themselves, judging from their names Nandivarman, Sihmaviṣṇu, Mahēndravarmān and Vikramāditya (*Epi. Ind.* v. II, p. 345), seem to have been feudatories in turn of the Pallavas and Cālukyas, who are known to have ruled in this same region. One of these feudatory Cōlas, Śrīkaṇṭha (R. Sewell, *List of Antiquities* No. 174), is mentioned, after the Cōlas of the Śaṅgam age, among Vijayālaya's ancestors; and even in c. 840 A.C., the Cōla Kumārāṅkuśa continued to be a feudatory of Pallava Nandivarman III in the North Arcot district (*South Ind. Inscr.* v. II, No. 98). The Cōlas could have therefore recovered their independence only between 840 and 880 A.C.; and Dharmavarman of Uṛaiyūr and his contemporary Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi must both be placed in this period. Their contemporary Periyālvar must likewise be placed in the 9th century A.C.

IX. *The date of Tirumaṅgai Āļvār.*

The last of Periyālvar's contemporaries, whose date remains to be determined, is Tirumaṅgai. Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has argued that he was a contemporary of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. This argument is based on Tirumaṅgai Āļvār's hymn on the Paramēśwara-Viṣṇugṛha of Kāñci (*Periya-Tirumoli* 2-9). The hymn refers to Pallavamalla's battles of Maṇṇai, Karuvūr (with the Pāṇḍya), and Nenmeli, and his war-drum *Kaṭuvāy* (= *Kaṭumukha*). We hear of the title Pallavamalla, the battles Maṇṇaikkudi and Nelvēli (an obvious variant of Nenmeli and Nemmeli-Tanjore District), and the war-drum *Kaṭumukha* in connection with Nandivarman, son of Hiraṇyavarman (*South Ind. Inscr.* v. 2, Nos. 73 and 74; *Epi. Ind.* v. 9, No. 28). There is therefore little doubt as to the identity of the Pallava referred to by Tirumaṅgai; and Tirumaṅgai himself elsewhere directly names a king Nandi (*Periya-Tirumoli* 5-10-7). But, except that he sings here the praise of Pallavamalla, even as he sings elsewhere the praise of Cōlan Śeṅkaṇṇ (*ibid.* 6-6), there is nothing to show that Tirumaṅgai was a contemporary of Nandivarman. On the other hand, the use of the words *munanāl*, *paṇḍorukāl*, and *tolpuhaḷ* indicates that Tirumaṅgai came long after Pallavamalla. *Paṇḍu* by itself, no doubt, need not

imply a great antiquity (*Nannūl* with Mayilainātha's comm. p. 260); but, taken with the other words noted above, it precludes the synchronism of Tirumaṅgai with Pallavamalla (c. 715-780 A.C.). Tirumaṅgai therefore could not have belonged to the 8th century A.C.

I shall now attempt to fix his date more closely still. Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has pointed out that Tirumaṅgai himself asserts that in his time the Pāṇḍya, Cōra, Cōḷa and the "King of Kings" (evidently the Pallava) were all Vaiṣṇavas (*Periya-Tirumōḷi* 7-7-4). This statement is quite definite and yields us valuable results. It implies that in Tirumaṅgai's time, the Cōḷas were ruling in their own country, but still recognised the suzerainty of the Pallava "King of Kings". We have seen already that the Cōḷas recovered their country only after c. 840 A.C., and they became free of Pallava control, only when in c. 880 A.C. their king Āditya defeated Aparāijita Pallava (*Epi. Ind.* v. 9, p. 88). Tirumaṅgai must therefore be placed between c. 840 and 880 A.C. But Pallava Nandivarman III (c. 830-855 A.C.), the hero of Tellāru, was, according to the *Nandikkalam-bakam*, a staunch Śaiva. He could not therefore be the Pallava referred to in the above passage by Tirumaṅgai. We must therefore infer that his son Nṛpatuṅga (c. 855-880 A.C.), who was a Vaiṣṇava (Bāhūr plates *South Ind. Inscs.* v. 2, No. 98), was the king here referred to. On the other hand, we know that Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II (acc. 862 A.C.), who was still ruling in c. 880 A.C., and defeated Pṛthvīpati II Gaṅga at Purambayam (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* No. 337 of 1912), was an ardent Śaiva (*ibid.* No. 414 of 1904; *Tiruvācakam-Pōrittiruvakaval*; *Tirukkōvaiyār*—sts. 306, 327; *Tiruvīdaimarudūr-mummaṇikkōvai* l. 28). He cannot therefore be the Pāṇḍya referred to by Tirumaṅgai; and Śrīvallabha, his father, and disciple of Periyālvār, was, in all probability, the Vaiṣṇavite Pāṇḍya of Tirumaṅgai. Thus Tirumaṅgai's reference to the Vaiṣṇava kings of his time can be definitely dated within c. 855-862 A.C.

But Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār relies on another passage for fixing Tirumaṅgai Ālvār's date in the 8th century A.C. That passage (*Periya-Tirumōḷi* 2-8-10) runs as follows:—*Mannavan Tonḍaiyar-kōn vaṇangum nīl-muḍi-mālai Vairamēghan, tan vali tan puhaḷ śūṇḍa kacci Aṭṭabuyakarattāḍit-annai*. Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār sees in this a contemporary reference to Dantidurga's conquest of Kāñcī in c. 754 A.C. He says that Vairamēgha, referred to here, as being bowed down to by the Tonḍai king and as having laid siege to Kāñcī, must be identical with Dantidurga, who is called Vairamēgha in the Kaḍaba plates (*Epi. Ind.* v. 4, No. 134), and was ruling

in 754 A.C. (*Ind. Ant.* v. 11, p. 110). It is true that Dantidurga is said to have taken Kāñcī (*Epi. Ind.* v. 9, No. 4); but it is difficult to understand why Tirumaṅgai should refer to the raid of foreign king and the humiliation of his own in a hymn dedicated to the Aṣṭabhujakara temple at Kāñcī; and, even if Dantidurga had, like Vikramāditya II (*Epi. Ind.* v. 9, No. 28), made rich gifts to that temple, we should expect the saint to refer, if at all, only to his munificence. But we do not know of any such gifts, and the poet too is said to refer, not to them, but to the raid. We need therefore have no hesitation in rejecting such an untoward interpretation. *Śūṇḍa* then should mean, not besieged, but guarded. The poet says that Vairamēgha guarded the Aṣṭabhujakara temple of Kāñcī by his prowess and his fame; and all that goes before in the above passage must be taken to refer to Vairamēgha himself. He was a king (*mannavan*), and the lord of the Tonḍai country (*Tonḍaiyar-kōn*). He was a devotee of the God of that temple (*vaṇa igum vairamēghan*), and he had a high crown (*nīl-muḍi*) and a garland (*mālai*). Thus Vairamēgha was a king of Kāñcī, and a servant of God, but when he lived we are not told. It is Tirumaṅgai's habit to mention, in connection with the temples to which he dedicates his hymns, the kings who had become associated with them by their devotion and munificence. Thus he mentions Śenkaṇān with Naraīyūr, Nandi with Nandipura-Viṣṇugṛha, Pallavamalla with Paramēśvara-Viṣṇugṛha, and Vairamēgha with Aṣṭabhujakara. As these kings did not all live in the same age, we are not justified in assuming any one or two of them alone to have been his contemporaries, without further evidence. This passage therefore is not of any special chronological value. But it may be of interest to ascertain the identity of this Vairamēgha. Titles ending in *Mēgha* were usual with Pallava kings, as may be seen from the titles Mahāmēgha (of Mahēndravarman), Citramēgha, and Śrīmēgha (of Rājasihma). Vairamēgha, therefore, is more likely to have been a Pallava rather than a foreign king; Dantidurga seems to have acquired the title by his conquest of Kāñcī, even as the Western Gaṅgas claim to have acquired the title of Perumāṇaḍi by conquest from the Pallavas. Traces, indeed, are not wanting in the Pallava country of a king named Vairamēgha. We have inscriptions in the North Arcot district, dated in the year 2 of Vairamēghavarman (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* Nos. 150 and 152 of 1916), and two villages named Vairamēgha-caturvēdimangalam (*ibid.* Nos. 71 and 84 of 1906). In c. 885 A.C., a feudatory of Aparāijita calls himself Vairamēgha-Vāpakōvaraiyan (*ibid.* No. 158 of 1912). Earlier still, in the 9th and 21st

years of Dantivarman (c. 790 and 802 A.C.), we hear of a tank called Vairamēgha (*ibid.* Nos. 61 and 74 of 1898). The fact that Dantidurga seems to have assumed the title Vairamēgha in c. 754 A.C., after his conquest of Kāñcī, suggests that it was at first the title of his Pallava contemporary Nandivarman II (c. 715-782 A.C.), and we accordingly hear of a Vairamēgha channel in Nandivarmamaṅgalam (*Ann. Rep. Epi. Mad.* Nos. 458 and 466 of 1908), and of a Nandīśvaram temple in Vairamēghapura (*ibid.* Nos. 253-258 of 1913). The Vairamēgha, referred to by Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, was therefore, in all probability, Nandivarman and not Dantidurga. But, as we have seen already, he need not have been a contemporary of the Ālvār, whom therefore nothing prevents us from placing in the 9th century A.C. If, moreover, we accept the cyclic year Nala for the birth of Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, as given in the earliest traditional biographies, he must have been born in 776 A.C.; and his contemporary Periyālvār must have likewise lived in the 9th century A.C.

X. The priority of all the Ālvārs to Nāthamuni.

Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār's final argument for a 8th century date for Periyālvār is based on the priority of all the Ālvārs to Nāthamuni, the earliest of the Ācāryas. He says that the sharp distinction between the Ālvārs and the Ācāryas is due to the gulf of time that separated them, and that therefore Periyālvār must have lived long before Nāthamuni was born in 825 A.C. This date seems to be a mistake for the 823 A.C. given in the Śrīraṅgam *Kōyiloḷuku*; and the inference from the distinction between the Ālvārs and the Ācāryas seems likewise to be a mistake, as Kūrattālvār is called an Ālvār, though he was a disciple of Rāmānuja, who came long after Nāthamuni. The distinction seems, in fact, to be based upon the time-honoured distinction between the path of devotion, which the Ālvārs followed, and the path of knowledge, which the Ācāryas adopted, in part. So all the Ālvārs need not have lived before all the Ācāryas. The *Guruparamparais* no doubt say that Nāthamuni came long after the Ālvārs had passed away, but this statement is only part of their chronological scheme of dating the Ālvārs from 1100 years before the Kali yuga, and, to bridge the distance of time, they had to assign the early Ālvārs 3325, Tirumaḷisai Ālvār 4700, Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi and Tirumaṅgai each 105, Nāthamuni 340 or 99, Ālavandār 120, and Rāmānuja 120 years. On the other hand, to enhance the sanctity of Nammālvār, they go to the opposite extreme, and assign him only 35 years, as the Advaita traditions assign Śrī Śaṅkarācārya only 32 years, while making his disciple Sarvajña live for 800 years. We cannot therefore accept

the chronological scheme of the *Guruparamparais* as sober history, and must reject the dates 584 or 823-922 A.C. for Nāthamuni, 916-1036 A.C. for Ālavandār, and 1017-1137 A.C. for Rāmānuja. Relying only on certain facts, we find that one of Nāthamuni's pupils drafted the Anbil plates of Cōḷa Parāntaka II (953-970 A.C.). On the other hand, Nāthamuni, according to the earliest *Guruparamparai*, received the *Nālāyiram* from Nammālvār himself, who revealed himself to Nāthamuni, when the latter, engaging himself in *yōga* invoked his aid, acting on the advice of Parāṅkuśadāsa, a disciple of Nammālvār's own disciple Madhurakavi, who himself had taught Parāṅkuśadāsa his hymn *kaṇṇinuṅ śiruttāmbu*. As the *Nālāyiram* comprises the hymns of all the Ālvārs this statement implies that all the Ālvārs should have passed away before Nāthamuni met Parāṅkuśadāsa. But, on the other hand, the *Divyasūricaritam*, the earliest of the existing accounts, says that Nāthamuni received from Nammālvār only his *Tiruvāymoḷi*. If this statement is accepted, some of the Ālvārs might even have been living in the time of Nāthamuni. The only facts, indeed, of which we can be certain, are that Nāthamuni came in the next generation after Nammālvār, and that, as he was the compiler of the collected works of all the Ālvārs he must have outlived them all, even if some of them had been his contemporaries. We can therefore only infer that all the Ālvārs, including Periyālvār, must have lived before c. 900 A.C.; and it is not in the least needful that Periyālvār and his contemporaries should have lived only in the 8th century A.C.

I have now come to the end of my brief inquiry. I have given my best consideration to the views of Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār, who has done more for Tamil literary history than perhaps any other scholar now living, but find myself unable to accept them. I have stated my doubts and difficulties, and the facts and inferences on which they are based, in the hope that Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār will try to meet them fairly and convincingly; and I may assure him that I shall try to keep an open mind and gladly accept his views, if he can only establish them beyond reasonable doubt. I know I am not competent to meet him on an equal footing on points of Tamil scholarship; but

yuktiyuktavacō grāhyam bālādapi śukādapi.

BY

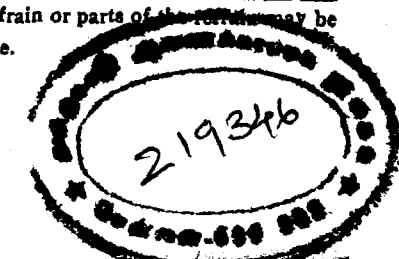
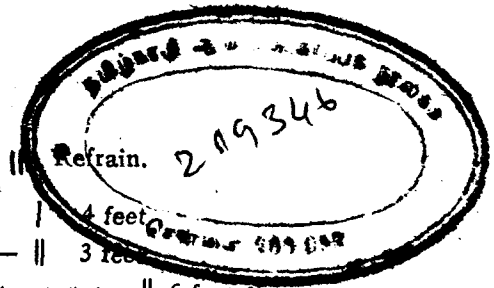
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We shall first dispose of the non-musical metres (non-tāla will be a better term) in which the narrative and benedictory portions of the poem are written. The following is an analysis of the stanzas.

<i>Metre.</i>	<i>No. of Stanzas.</i>	<i>Metre.</i>	<i>No. of Stanzas.</i>
Śārdūlavikrīḍitam	39	Śloka	3
Harinī	10	Drutavilambitam	2
Vasantatilakam	8	Vamśastham	3
Śikharinī	6	Upendravajrā	2
Puṣpitāgrā	4	Indravajrā	1
Āryā	4	Pṛthvī	1
Mālinī	3	Upajāti	1
Sragdharā	3		

The Śārdūlavikrīḍita, the metre of nearly half the stanzas is the first favourite without a second; the Hariṇī lags behind with only ten to its credit. The Śārdūla's primacy is beyond doubt due to its inherent suppleness. The

1. It ought to be mentioned that in singing, the refrain or parts of the refrain may be repeated. We are not concerned with such variations here.



10 b (2nd line of 10th verse : this song has 10 verses each describing one of the ten avatāras) begins with a non-integral foot. धूमकेतुमिव — — — — —
The division is easily made in singing.

II श्रितकमलाकुचमण्डल धृतकुण्डल ए ।

कलितललितवनमाल ॥

जय जय देव हरे ॥ Refrain

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ।

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ॥

5 feet and 3 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ॥ 3 feet.

The ए at the end of the first lines found in all printed editions is a natural musical filling of the verse. It will be found that this is necessary in other songs also.

The close of the 2nd line requires completion by a single mora (as in I above) and the refrain is to be completed by lengthening the last vowel ए in हरे to the extent of a bimora.

8a reads श्रीजय देवक वेरिदं कुरुते मुदम् ए

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —

Both the दम्'s (इदम् and मुदम्) are to be pronounced lightly so as to occupy only one mora space of time.

III ललितलवङ्गलतापरिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे ।¹

मधुकरनिकरकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुङ्कुटीरे ॥

विहरति हरिरीह सरस वसन्ते ।

नृत्यति युवतिजनेन समं सखि विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते ॥ Refrain.

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 4 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 7 feet

1. One Mr. Brown who wrote very many years ago a book on Sanskrit Prosody (containing nothing more than the usual metre lists and a few cheap gibes at the paṇḍits) airily remarks that in this poem 'the laws of harmony supersede those of prosody' and cites this particular song as 'sufficiently exemplifying this liberty'. It is difficult to find what the gentleman meant by his 'laws' but it is easy to see that he could not differentiate between an *Akṣaracchandā* and a *tālā*-metre. And the worst of it is, in this particular song, there is not a single 'defective' foot.

In 5a, there is a non-integral foot

मदनमहीपतिकनकदण्डरुचि

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —

IV चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेवरपीतवसनवनमाली ।

केलिचलन्मणिकुण्डलमण्डितगण्डयुगस्मितशाली ॥

हरिरिह मुग्धवधूनिकरे ।

विलासिनि विलसति केलिपरे ॥ Refrain

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) । 4 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — (—) ॥ 4 feet

The final long vowel in both lines of the refrain is to be extended by a bimora—the ला in विलासिनि to be lightly sounded so as to occupy one mora space of time only.

Analysis of the whole song shows that the poet has used the measure here almost as an *Akṣaracchandā*—that is to say, there are very few variations from the type above in the make-up of the feet.

V सञ्चरदधरसुधामधुरध्वनिमुखरितमोहनवंशम् ।

चलितदृगञ्चलचञ्चलमौलिकपीलविलीलवतंसम् ॥

रासे हरिमिह विहितविलासम् ।

स्मरति मनो मम कृतपरिहासम् ॥ Refrain

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 7 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — । 4 feet

— — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — —, — — — — — ॥ 4 feet

In 36 is a non-integral foot

बन्धुजीवमधुराधर

— — — — —, — — — — —, ...

VI निभृतनिकुञ्जगृहं गतम् निशि रहसि निलीय वसन्तम् ।

चकितविलोकितसकलदिशा रतिरभसभरेण हसन्तम् ॥

सखि हे केशिमयनमुदारम् ।

रमय मया सह मदनमनोरथभावितया सविकारम् ॥ Refrain.

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 7 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 4 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet

केशि in Refrain is to be pronounced so as to occupy the time space of four moras, either by lengthening शि or pausing after it.

VII मामियं चलिता विलोक्य वृतं वधूनिचयेन ।

सापराधतया मयापि न वारितातिभयेन ॥

हरिहरि हतादरतया, गता सा कुपितेव ॥ Refrain.

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 4 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet

The foot is 7 moras long; the final feet in all lines to be prosodically lengthened in singing to the extent of four moras—thus —(~~~~)~(~~~~) or any other form. The particular mode of filling up will probably depend on the rāga employed. The 2nd foot in the refrain is to be completed by an extension of 2 moras; there is a pause here.

Analysis of all the verses reveals the fact that the poet has used this measure exactly like an *Akṣaracchandās*. All the pādas scan exactly after the same pattern; in other words, the 'longs' and 'shorts' are definitely fixed in their places.

VIII निन्दति चन्दनमिन्दुकिरणमनुविन्दति खेदमधीरम् ।

व्यालनिलयमिलनेन गरलमिव कलयति मलयसमीरम् ॥

सा विरहे तव दीना ।

माधवमनसिजविशिखभयादिव भावनया त्वयि लीना ॥ Refrain.

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 7 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 3 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 7 feet

IX स्तनविनिहितमपि हारमुदारम् ।

सा मनुते कशतनुरिव भारम् ।

राधिका तव विरहे केशव ॥ Refrain

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ | 4 feet  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet  
 ~~~(~~~~), ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ || 4 feet

राधिका is to be pronounced राधीका or in any other way so as to make four moras out of the first syllables.

This is identical with the prevailing measure of the famous *Ōṭṭam* Tullal poems in Malayālam. It is usually regarded as a *Bhāṣā Vṛtta* or indigenous metre. But there is a strong *prima facie* case for thinking that Kunjan Nambiar, the reputed introducer of the measure into Malayālam got it from Jayadeva.

(1) The *Gīta-Govinda*, popularly called the *Aṣṭapadī* in Malabar is known to have been a favourite all along in the country and to have exerted a strong influence on its literature, though the exact extent of this influence is as yet unexplored.

(2) Nambiar interested himself in Kṛṣṇa literature.

(3) The indigenous tāla metres seem to have the characteristic feature of freely lengthening short syllables for prosodic purposes, whereas this particular metre does not show it. The final spondee characteristic of this metre is another coincidence.

(4) The tradition that Nambiar invented and perfected the style in a single night cannot historically mean anything more than that he wrote the first of his famous Tullals in that short time. The originality consisted in his having thought of using a metre, already perfected in another language, for a Malayālam composition. And Jayadeva is a very likely source of his borrowing. Jayadeva himself was using measures current in his vernacular.

X वहति मलयसमीरे मदनमुपनिधाय ।

स्फुटति कुसुमनिकरे विरहिहृदयदलनाय ॥

तव विरहे वनमाली सखि सीदति ॥ Refrain.

The verses scan, as they stand, as follows :

~~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ |  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ ||  
 ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~, ~~~ ||

All the verses have the same three pauses and consist of similar grammatical forms; and also all the lines have exactly the same prosodic pattern. In other words, the metre may be regarded as an *Akṣaracchandās* of the *Ardhasama* kind.

The mora basis is somewhat disguised. But it is there all the same. Scan the lines as follows (or in any other way answering the same purpose)

वहती मलयस मीरे मदनममुपनी धाया ।

स्फुटती कुसुमनि कारे विरहिहृदयदल नाया ॥

तव विर हेए वनमा लीसखि सीदति ॥

that is —, | —, —, —, | —, —, —, — |  
—, | —, —, —, | —, —, —, — ॥  
—, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥

The song is exceptional in the matter of lengthenings; but the phenomenon is paralleled by the prosodic lengthenings in indigenous Malayālam metres, for instance. The word 'lengthening' used in this connection is not quite accurate; for the time interval may really be completed by pauses; at any rate it is not a pure 'quantity' change. The quantitative notation used in these scansion is only a matter of convenience.

The pādas fall into three vertically rhyming sections of one, two and three feet or syllabic groups (if the verse is regarded as an *Akṣaracchandā*) respectively.

XI रतिसुखसारे गतमभिसारे मदनमनोहरवेषम् ।

न कुरु नितम्बिनि गमनविलम्बनमनुसर तं हृदयेशम् ॥

धीरसमीरे यमुनातीरे वसति वने वनमाली ।

गोपीपीनपयोधरमर्दनचञ्चलकरयुगशाली ॥ Refrain.

—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 7 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 7 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 7 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 7 feet

XII पश्यति दिशि दिशि रहसि भवन्तम् ।

तदधरमधुरमधूनि पिबन्तम्

नाथ हरे सीदति राधा वासगृहे ॥ Refrain.

—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 4 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 4 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — or better  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — 6 feet

XIII कथितसमयेऽपि हरिरह न ययौ वनम् ।

ममविफलमिदममलरूपमपि यौवनम् ॥

यामिहे कमिह शरणं सखीजनवचनवञ्चिता ॥

—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 4 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 4 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ Refrain.

The foot is a five-mora one. The metre of this pāda is identical with the well-known Kilippāṭṭu Vṛttam in Malayālam. In the prevailing form of this measure in Malayālam, there will be at least one long in the foot; but the forms with fully resolved feet are not uncommon.

It will be noticed that the final foot has the fixed form — — just as the lines on a four-mora basis have a spondee (— —) at the end. The cretic close is also characteristic of the Malayālam measure.

XIV स्मरसमरोचितविरचितवेशा ।

गालितकुसुमदरविलुलितकेशा ॥

कापि मधुरिपुणा विलसति युवतिरधिकगुणा ॥ Refrain.

—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 4 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 4 feet  
—(—), —, —, —, —(—) | —, —, —(—), —, —, —(—) 7 feet.

The refrain is to be filled up as above.

XV समुदितमदने रमणीवदने चुम्बनवलिताधरे ।

मृगमदतिलकं लिखतिस पुलकं मृगमिव रजनीकरे ॥

रमते यमुनापुलिनवने विजयी मुरारिरधुना ॥ Refrain

—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — | 7 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — ॥ 7 feet  
—, —, —, —, —, —, —, — 7 feet

The iambic ending is noticeable. The foot is to be extended by a mora. There is a non-integral foot in the refrain.

The metre is used almost as an *Akṣaracchandā* only the third showing equivalent variations.

XVI अनिलतरलकुवलयदलनेन

तपति न सा किसलयशयनेन ॥

साखि या रमिता वनमालिना ॥ Refrain.

4 feet }  
 4 feet } Trochaic ending  
 4 feet

The final feet in both pāda and refrain are to be completed by a mora as in XV. The measure has been used almost like an *Akṣaracchandās*.

XVII रजनिजनितगुरुजारगरागकषायितमलसनिवेशम् ।

वहति नयनमनुरागमिव स्फुटमुदितरसाभिनिवेशम् ॥

हरिहरि याहि माधव याहि केशव मा वद कैतववादम् ॥ Refrain

तामनुसर सरसीरुहलोचन या तव हरति विषादम् ॥

7 feet  
 7 feet  
 8 feet  
 7 feet

After each याहि in the refrain a completing mora is to be added. There is of course a pause at each place.

XVIII हरिरभिसरति वहति मधुपवने ।

किमपरमधिकसुखं सावि भवने ॥

माधवे मा कुरु मानिनि मानमये ॥ Refrain.

or

that is, pronounce माधवे slowly so as to pause for two mora spaces over घे or quickly do as to pause for only one mora space over वे in which case the final foot is to be completed by a bimora. The latter scansion is preferable.

XIX वदसियदि किञ्चिदपि दन्तरुचिकौमुदी

हरति दरतिमिरमतिघोरम् ।

स्फुरदधरशीधवे तववदनचन्द्रमा

रोचयतु लोचनचकोरम् ॥

प्रिये चारुशीले मुञ्च मयि मानमनिदानम् ।

सपदि मदनानलो दहति मम मानसम्

देहि मुखकमलमधुपानम् ॥

Refrain

7 feet  
 7 feet  
 5 feet  
 7 feet

The foot is 5 moras and the verse-ends are spondees which are completed as in the scansion above or as —(—).

The Ūnakākaḥ of various kinds in the *Kiḷippāṭṭu* with (as here) or without the 'defect' of a whole foot in alternate line, is similar to this. Compare for instance,

Kuṅkumaccāraṇinñālum kucamñāḷil

Kumbhīndra gāmini yāḷē

which scans,

— — — — —  
 — — — — —

The whole series including the famous *Mañjarī* of the *Kṛṣṇa Gāthā* are built up on these lines.

XX विरचितचातुर्वचनरचनेन चरणरचितप्रणिपातम् ।

सम्प्रति मञ्जुलसीमनि केलिशयनमनुयातम् ॥

मुग्धे मधुमयमनुगतमनुसर राधिके ॥ Refrain

7 feet  
 7 feet  
 6 feet

An extra mora after अनुसर and one in राधिके will complete the feet as in the above scansion.

XXI मञ्जुतरकुञ्जतलकेलिसदने ।

[प्रविश राधे माधवसमीपमिह विलस] रतिरभसहसितवदने ॥

The words within square brackets form the Refrain.

4 feet  
 4 feet  
 3 feet

1. The *Nirṇayasāgara* edition (containing the commentary *Rasikapriyā*) the text of which is careless, misplaces the words in this song so as to spoil the metre utterly. I follow the edition of the *Sri Venkaṭeśwara Steam Press*, Bombay, containing only the text. The latter has, as a rule, correct readings wherever the former is wrong. An incorrect reading in the songs is easily detected by the metrical flaw arising therefrom.



horizontal, internal and final alliteration and assonance are ever present. Some of the complex rhyme-schemes (as in XIX e.g.) are strikingly beautiful. The rhyme falls on the last syllable (of line or part of line) and the preceding vowel. Sometimes it extends to the two last syllables and the vowel preceding.

It goes without saying that Jayadeva's mastery of metre is of a high order of excellence. His technique remains on the high level to which the Mahākāvya poets had raised Sanskrit verse. He keeps the balance between the rhetorical style and the plain one. Often enough, he has long compounds covering a whole pāda. Sometimes even a hemistich; but he never degenerates into sound and fury. He gets suggestive effects by often following up a rapid 'compound' here with a many-paused short-worded one. The *enjambed ardha*—one of the chief advances made by the Mahākāvya poets—is often in evidence; the effect of it being of course to make of the stanza two hemistiches instead of four pādas—which is a frequent source of monotony in second-rate Sanskrit poetry.

The prime quality of Jayadeva's verse is sweetness. It is only natural in a poet, whose devotional fervour was exercised in realising God by the *Madhurabhāva*. There are no thunder claps on swelling billows, no harsh threatening *virya* in the march of his verse; it is ever mellifluous, sweet with the sweetness of confident love. One thinks of the flute and the *Viṇā* of tinkling kinkinis and pagoda bells of golden anklets and *nūpurās* translating a fairy dance into their own rhythm.

It will be seen that his range is somewhat limited by the nature of the poet's subject; but within this restricted range he produces wonderful effects. Such lines as

किं च क्षिप्रसालमौलिमुकुलान्यालोक्य हर्षोदया—

दुन्मीलन्ति कुहूः कुहूरिति कलोत्तालाः पिकानां गिरः ॥

which have a fine onomatopoeic effect;

or युवतिषु वलत्तृष्णे कृष्णे विहारिणि मां विना

पुनरपि मनो वामं कामं करोति करोमि किम् ॥

the sound of which is the very sobbing moan of Rādhā;

or भूपल्लवं धनुरपाङ्गतरङ्गितानि बाणा गुणः श्रवणपालिरिति स्मरेण ।

तस्यामनङ्गजयजङ्गमदेवताया—मन्त्राणि निर्जितजगन्ति किमर्पितानि ॥

in which the pauses are distributed (that is, the pace managed) with a rare skill;

or अतिक्रम्यापाङ्गं श्रवणपर्यन्तगमन—

प्रयासेनेवाक्ष्णोरमलतरतारं गमितयोः ।

इदानीं राधायाः प्रियतमसमायातसमये

पपात स्वेदाम्बुप्रसर इव हर्षाश्रुनिकरः ॥

where we seem to hear the sudden bursting and raining of tears in the final quaver of the last pāda after the laboured long-drawn sigh of the first three;

or सा ससाध्वससानन्दं गोविन्दे लोललोचना ।

शिञ्जाना मणिमञ्जीरे प्रविवेश निवेशनम् ॥

which gloriously suggests the sound of Rādhā's steps coming at last into the Bower of Bliss and which are followed by that wonderful song (XXI) quoted later on that echoes with the rousing sound of marriage-bells, are to be found in plenty in the book.

But it is in the songs that we get the best of Jayadeva. They excel in all the qualities that go to make music in words even without their being set to a tune or without instrumental aid. It is difficult to choose from such abundance of beauty. But one may prefer some of them for the sake of preference. One notes how in that first song of the *avatāras*, even the killing of Rāvaṇa is sweetened by the poet's words

वितरसि दिक्षु रणे दिक्पतिकमनीयं

दशमुखमौलिबलिं रमणीयम् ॥

The famous song beginning ललितलवङ्गलतापरिशीलनकोमलमलयसमीरे, मधुकरनि-  
करकरम्बितकोकिलकूजितकुञ्जकुटीरे with its joyous refrain विहरति हरिहरि सरसव-  
सन्ते, नृत्यति युवतिजनेन समं सखि विरहिजनस्य दुरन्ते is the very dance of spring,  
scattering colour and sound in plenteous cascades, the *ए* rhymes at the end  
suggesting the longing with which spring travails. The charge of rhyme in  
the last pāda of the song is noticeable, हरिचरणस्मृतिसारम् मदनविकारम्. This  
has the effect of slowing down the quick march of the song, of bringing the  
tremulous heart to a restful close. The spirit of the love-dance is equally  
well brought out in the 4th song चन्दनचर्चितनीलकलेवरपीतवसनवनमाली. The  
gradual speeding up of the movement till excitement is reached in that final—  
श्लिश्यति कामपि चुञ्चति कामपि कामपि रमयति रामाम् is one of the first effects

in the book. Take again the following song :

सञ्चरदधरसुधामधुरध्वनिमुखरितमोहनवंशम् ।

चलितदृगञ्चलचञ्चलमौलिकपोलविलोलवतंसम् ॥

रासे हरिमिह विहितविलासम् । स्मरति मनो मम कृतपरिहासम् ॥

The dancing rhythm of the pādas realises the sporting figure of Kṛṣṇa; the रासे that opens the refrain expresses the moving pathos of Rādhā's longing, the effect being continued by the slow movement of the whole refrain. The refrain of the 8th song माधव मनसिजविशिखभयादिव भावनया त्वयि लीना, सा विरहे तव दीना is a perfect jewel in itself, the short line that echoes the sound of the latter half of the opening giving a magic effect to the pleading of the sakhi. Nowhere has internal rhyme been used more effectively than in the 11th song

रतिमुखसारे गतमभिसारे मदनमनोहरवेषम् ।

न कुरु नितम्बिनि गमनविलम्बनमनुसर तं हृदयेशम् ॥

धीरसमीरे यमुनातीरे वसति वने वनमाली ।

गोपीपीनपयोधरमर्दनचञ्चलकरयुगशाली ॥

Again, the 17th song

रजनिजनितगुरुजागररागकषायितमलसनिवेशम् ।

बहति नयनमनुरागमिव स्फुरदुदितरसाभिनिवेशम् ॥

हरि हरि याहि माधव याहि केशव मा वद कैतववादम् ।

तामनुसर सरसीरुहलोचन या तव हरति विषादम् ॥ etc.

The torrential eloquence of anger in the pāda and the telling scorn in the multi-paused refrain make this song a supreme expression in verse musical or otherwise of the sentiment of the Kharṣṭā-nāyikā on which almost every poet makes it a point of honour to exercise his wit in conceit and skill in words. Even this song is probably surpassed by the 19th song beginning

वदसि यदि किञ्चिदपि दन्तरुचि कौमुदी

हरति दरतिमिरमतिधीरम् ।

स्फुरदधरशीधवे तववदनचन्द्रमा

रोचयतु लोचनचकोरम् ॥

प्रिये चारुशीले मुञ्च मयि मानमनिदानम् ।

सपदि मदनानलो दहति मम मानसं देहि मुखकमलमधुपानम् ॥—

the music of which now flowing in a stream of sheer sweetness of Vīṇā string, now tintillating with the gentle *rava* of pagoda bells in the evening silence, is hard to match. An equal favourite with the Kathākālī musicians (who keep alive the tradition of the poem even today) is the 21st song beginning मञ्जुतरकुञ्जतलकेलिसदने. The next song which opens the glorious close of the love-tale runs

राधावदनविलोकनविकसितविविधविकारविभङ्गम् ।

जलनिधिमिव विधुमण्डलदर्शनतरलिततुङ्गतरङ्गम् ॥

swiftly lifts us to an atmosphere of joy.

The Gīta-Govinda constitutes in itself an ample indication of these decorative features which in the hands of lesser poets sometimes degenerate into cheap tricks. Even the austerity of Śaṅkarācārya's sentiment gains from these features in his devotional poetry.

## EQUATION OF TIME IN HINDU ASTRONOMY.

BY

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The Sūrya Siddhānta recognises that the apparent solar day, *i.e.*, the interval of time from one sun-rise to the next, is variable, and this is evident from the following division of time :—

Time that is measurable is that which is in common use, beginning with the *prāṇa* (प्राण). The *pala* (पल) or *vināḍī* (विनाडी) contains six *prāṇas*. The *ghaṭikā* or *nāḍī* is 60 *palas*, and the *Nakṣatra ahōrātra* or sidereal day and night, contains 60 *ghaṭikās* and *Nakṣatra māsa* or sidereal month consists of 30 sidereal days.<sup>1</sup>

The same work gives the following rule for finding out the length of an apparent solar day in sidereal units :—“Multiply the diurnal motion (in minutes) of a planet by the number of *prāṇas* which the sign, in which the planet is, takes in its rising (at a given place); divide the product by 1800<sup>1</sup> (the number of minutes which each sign or *rāśi* of 30° of the ecliptic contains), add the quotient, in *prāṇas*, to the number of *prāṇas* contained in one sidereal day (*i.e.*,  $6 \times 60 \times 60$  or 21600 *prāṇas*); the sum will be the apparent day of that planet in *prāṇas*.”<sup>2</sup>

Here 1800 is the number of minutes of one *rāśi* or sign of the ecliptic. Let the time taken by a particular sign to rise above the horizon be *p*, *prāṇas*; *d*, the daily motion of a planet in minutes; and *x*, the time in *prāṇas* by which a planet's day exceeds the sidereal day, the excess being due to its eastward motion among the stars; therefore  $1800 : d :: p : x$  or  $x = \frac{dp}{1800}$  *prāṇas*. This is the rule.

This rule is based on the knowledge of two facts: (1) that the daily motion in longitude of any planet is a variable quantity; and (2) that the different signs of the zodiac take different intervals of time to rise above the horizon at any station, (*i.e.*) at any place on the equator.

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter I, verses 11 & 12.

2. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verse 59.

The Sūrya Siddhānta then proceeds to find out the corrections to longitude of planets due to one part of the equation of time. “Multiply the diurnal motion of a planet by the number of minutes contained in the first equation of the sun, and divide the product by the number of minutes contained in a circle *i.e.*, 21600<sup>1</sup>; add or subtract the quotient, in minutes, according as the sun's equation is additive to, or subtractive from, the place of the planet (which is found from the *Ahargana* at the mean midnight at *Laṅkā*, the result will be the place of the planet at the true midnight at *Laṅkā*).”<sup>1</sup> This is called the *Bhujāntara* correction in minutes.

The *Bhujāntara* correction is to be applied to the place of a planet found from the *Ahargana* for finding the place of the planet at the true midnight at *Laṅkā*, arising from that portion of the equation of time which is due to the sun in the ecliptic.

Bhāskara-cārya in his Siddhānta Śirōmaṇi has, however, laid down more accurate rules :—

“Multiply the sun's equation of centre by the time which, the sign of the zodiac in which the sun is, takes to rise at any place on the equator and divide by the number of *prāṇas* in a whole day, then apply this last quotient positively or negatively to the longitude of a planet, according as the sun's equation of centre is applied positively or negatively. This correction is called *Bhujāntara*.”<sup>2</sup>

These rules will be evident from the way in which the longitude of a planet is calculated. The equation of time is the difference of the right ascensions of the true sun moving along the equator. It has got two parts; one is the difference in the right ascensions of the true sun and a fictitious star moving along the ecliptic with the mean motion of the sun; while the other is the difference in the right ascensions of the mean sun moving along the equator and the fictitious star. The former is called *Bhujāntara* and the latter *Udayāntara* in Hindu Astronomy. It was Bhāskara who, among all Hindu astronomers, first detected this *Udayāntara* correction.

Bhāskara gives the following proof of *Bhujāntara* :—

“The longitude that has been found for the mean sun-rise is converted to that for the apparent sun-rise. First convert the sun's equation of centre into *prāṇas* by proportion; if the number of minutes in a sign rising on the equator be known, in how many *prāṇas* will the arc of the equation of centre rise? Then take another proportion. If the number of *prāṇas* of a day

1. Sūrya Siddhānta, Chapter II, verse 46.

2. Siddhānta Śirōmaṇi, Grahagaṇitam, Chapter VIII, verse 61.

changes the longitude of a planet by the amount of daily motion, what will be the change for these *prāṇas*? The result in minutes should then be applied negatively or positively as the apparent sun rises before or after the mean sun. Hence the rule is proved."<sup>1</sup>

Then Bhāskara gives the rule for the Udayāntara correction:—"To the mean sun add the total amount of the precession of the equinoxes; find the sign in which the sun now falls and the degrees of it which are passed over. Multiply the degrees of the sign by the degrees of that sign while on the equator and divide by 30'. The result is the number of *bhukta-asūs* (or *prāṇas* passed over) by that sign. Now add up the *asūs* (*prāṇas*) of the whole signs while on the equator passed over by the sun and add to this sun the *bhukta-asūs* found above. The result is the number of *prāṇas* of the right ascension of the mean sun. Next reduce the mean longitude of the sun to which the total amount of precession has been added to minutes of arc. Take the difference of these minutes and those *prāṇas*, multiply the daily motion of a planet by it and divide by the total number of *asūs* of a whole day; add the result which is in minutes of arc to the longitude of the planet if the number of *asūs* is greater than the number of minutes and subtract if the minutes are greater in number. This correction is called Udayāntara."

Bhāskara has given the following proof of his rule:—"The Ahargana (the number of days elapsed since creation) that has been found elsewhere (for the calculation of longitudes) is of mean solar units (days), as the apparent solar day is variable. The sixty sidereal ghaṭikās increased by the number of *asūs* (which are equal to the minutes of arc) in the mean daily motion of the sun is equal to one mean solar day, i.e., sixty ghaṭikās 59 *prāṇas* and sixtieths or 24 hrs. 3 min. 56 secs. 22 sixtieths, in sidereal time. But the apparent solar day equal to 60 ghaṭikās and the time in which the arc of the daily motion rises, and is, therefore, a variable quantity, because every day the daily motion is different and also because the times of rising of the different signs of different months are different. As the apparent Ahargana is not obtained in the way described above is not obtained in the way described before, we find the mean Ahargana; and we do not get the longitudes at the time of sun-rise at Laṅkā, but we get them sometimes for a moment a little before sun-rise and sometimes for a moment a little after sun-rise. Thus we find the mean Ahargana when the mean sun is near the horizon at Laṅkā."<sup>2</sup>

1. Vide Vāsanā Bhāṣya under verses 62, 63, 64 Grahagaṇita, Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi, Chapter. VIII.  
2. Vide Vāsanā-Bhāṣya, Grahagaṇita, Chapter VIII Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi.

Bhāskara next proceeds to find out the difference between the mean and the apparent Ahargana. "Add up the *asūs* at the time of the rise on the equator of the signs passed over by the sun from the beginning of the sign *mēṣa*. The resulting *asūs* is the excess of the Ahargana over the sidereal day. Again the sun's longitude from the first point of the sign, *mēṣa* is converted into minutes which is the equatorial interval between the mean Ahargana and the sidereal day. Hence the difference between the *asūs* and the minutes of arc is the difference between the two Aharganas. Now apply the proportion. If the *asūs* of a whole day change the longitude by daily motion, what will be the change for this difference of *asūs*? The result is to be added or subtracted according as the *asūs* are greater or less than the minutes."

Bhāskara has given further explanation of his Udayāntara correction:—"If the ecliptic be divided into four quadrants beginning from the vernal equinox, each quadrant will rise on the equator in 15 ghaṭikās (or 6 sidereal hours); but each sign will not rise in 5 ghaṭikās (2 sidereal hours) and the Udayāntara correction goes on increasing till the middle point of the first quadrant, and then continues to decrease. Hence at the end of each quadrant it vanishes (i.e., four times a year) and attains the greatest value at the middle point of each quadrant. The method by which the Udayāntara correction is more accurately obtained is as follows:—to the mean longitude of the sun add the total amount of the precession of the equinoxes, now find the *jyā* (radius × sine of longitude) of the longitude and the *Koṭijyā* of the corresponding declination (radius × cosine of the declination); multiply this *jyā* by the *Koṭijyā* of the declination of the last point of the third sign and divide by the *Koṭijyā* of the declination. Find the arc in *asūs* of which this is the *jyā*; and diminish by these *asūs*, the number of minutes in the mean longitude of the sun as increased by the total amount of precession; the result is the correct number of *asūs* of Udayāntara. In this way at the middle of the quadrant the Udayāntara becomes a little greater than 26 *palas*" (i.e., 10 minutes 26 seconds).<sup>1</sup>

Now if this Udayāntara correction is so much necessary as it is that part of the Equation of Time due to the obliquity of the Ecliptic, why is it not done by the former astronomers? Bhāskara replies by saying that "after all this correction is a variable and a small quantity and vanishes at the four ends of the four quarter years." Kamalākaraḥṭṭha in his Siddhāntatattvaviveka tried to refute this Udayāntara correction, but his

1. Vide Grahagaṇita, Chapter VIII.

arguments are not very convincing.<sup>1</sup> Bhāskara is the only Indian astronomer who found out the two parts of due Equation of Time.<sup>2</sup>

## CUTṬEḷUTTU (DEMONSTRATIVE ROOT) IN TAMIL LANGUAGE.

By

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I propose to deal in this article about the different opinions of the Tamil grammarians regarding cutṭeḷuttu.

Tolkāppianār in the 31st sūtra of Nūnmarapu says 'அ இ உ அம்முன்றுஞ் சுட்டு'. Puttamittiranār, the author of Viracōḷiyam repeats the same idea in the third line of the third stanza in Cantippaḷalam as 'அ இ உச்சுட்டாம்'. Peruntēvanār, the commentator on Viracōḷiyam says 'அ இ உ என்னுமுன்றெழுத்து மொழிக்கு முதலிலே சுட்டெழுத்து என்னும்பெயராவாம்'. Pavaṇantimuniyar, the author of Nannūl says in the 66th sūtra of eḷuttīyal 'அ இ உம்முதற் தனிவரிற் சுட்டே'. Vaittiyanātatēcikar, the author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam says in the 6th sūtra of eḷuttīyal அ இ உ இவை மொழிமுதல் வரிற்சுட்டு' and thus agrees both with Peruntēvanār and Pavaṇantimuniyar in the introduction of the expression 'மொழிமுதல்வரில்'; but he refutes Pavaṇantimuniyar in his own commentary for having introduced the element 'தனிவரில்' in the definition thus:—மொழிமுதற்கண் தனித்துவரிற் சுட்டென்றும் உளராலோவெனின், 'சுட்டு வகரம்' எனவும் 'சுட்டின்முன்னுய்தம்' எனவும், உறுப்பாய் வருவனவற்றையுஞ் சுட்டென்று அவர் தாமே ஆளுதலானும், ஆசிரியர் தொல்காப்பியனாரும் 'அ இ உ அம்முன்றுஞ் சுட்டு' எனப்பொதுப்படக் கூறிச் 'சுட்டுமுதலகரம்' எனவும் 'சுட்டு முதலாகியவையினிற்று' எனவும் பிறுண்டும் உறுப்பாய் வருவனவற்றையும், 'சுட்டின் முன்னர் ஞ நமத்தோன்றின்' எனவும் 'சுட்டினியற்கை' எனவும் பிறுண்டுஞ்சாநீத்து வருவனவற்றையுஞ் சுட்டென்றாராதலானும் அவர்க்கு கருத்தன்றென்க'.

Civañānacuvāmikaḷ in his Ilakkaṇaviḷakkac-cūṟāvaḷi refutes the opinion of Vaittiyanātatēcikar and agrees with that of Pavaṇantimuniyar:—நன்னூலார் மொழிமுதற்குச் சுட்டுப் பொருளுணர்ந்திவரின்லது சுட்டெழுத்தாகாவென்பார் 'தனிவரிற்சுட்டு' என்றார். தாமுமவ்வாறு கூறுது எவ்வாறு வரினுஞ் சுட்டெழுத்தாமென்று பொருள்படவானா 'மொழிமுதல்வரிற் சுட்டு' என்றதுவுமன்றி, அவர் கருத்தறியாது குற்றமும் கூறினார்.

1. Vide page 251, Bhāratīya Jyotiṣa Śāstra by S. B. Dikshit.

2. For the main points of this article I am indebted to Professor P. C. Sengupta of the Bethune College, Calcutta.

Here we have to consider carefully the definition of *cuṭṭu* as given by Pavaṇantimuniṇar, the objections against the same raised by Vaṭṭiyaṇṭatācīkar and the counter-objections raised by Civaṇṇācuvāmikaḷ and then decide whether the definition as given by Tolkāppiyāṇār is accurate or that as given by Pavaṇantimuniṇar.

Pavaṇantimuniṇar's definition, as noted above, is 'அ இ உம்முதற்\* தனிவரிற் சுட்டே', Vaṭṭiyaṇṭatācīkar seems to have interpreted this in the sense that *cuṭṭeḷuttu* is any one of அ, இ and உ if it stands at the beginning of a word and stands by itself without forming a part of an integral portion of it (தனிவரில்—தனித்துநின்றால்). This is seen from the word 'உறுப்பாய்' found in 'உறுப்பாய் வருவனவற்றையுஞ் சுட்டென்று அவர் தாமே ஆளுதலானும் etc.' Hence he seems to think that, though the above definition can hold good so far as அ, இ and உ in அக்கொற்றன், இக்கொற்றன் etc., are concerned, yet it cannot hold good so far as அ, இ and உ in அக்கடிய (அவ் + கடய), இக்கடிய (இவ் + கடய) etc., அவ்யாழ் (அவ் + யாழ்), இவ்யாழ் (இவ் + யாழ்) etc., are concerned, where அ, இ, and உ do not stand by themselves, but form part and parcel of அவ், இவ், and உவ். (which are complete words meaning அவை இவை and உவை) Hence he quotes sūtras both from Nannūl and Tolkāppiyam which sanction the sandhi like அக்கடிய (அவ் + கடய), அந்நாடு (அவ் + நாடு), அவ்யாழ் (அவ் + யாழ்) etc., wherein அ forms a part of அவ் and so objects to the introduction of 'தனிவரில்' in the definition. But Civaṇṇācuvāmikaḷ beautifully interprets 'தனிவரில்' in the sense 'if it gives demonstrative sense by itself (தனித்து நின்று பொருள் உணர்த்திவரின்). The interpretation is no doubt very satisfactory; but how can 'தனிவரில்' mean தனித்து நின்று பொருள் உணர்த்திவரின்? If it is said that the name *cuṭṭu* itself suggests that meaning, it will surely suggest the same even when 'தனிவரில்' does not find a place there. Hence the expression தனிவரில் does not seem to be quite necessary in the definition. But all grammarians except Tolkāppiyāṇār and Puttamittiraṇār are unanimous in introducing the expression 'மொழிமுதல்' in the definition, (i.e.) they think that, unless அ, இ and உ stand as the initial member of a word, they cannot be called *cuṭṭeḷuttu*, though they may give demonstrative sense. But there are certain points in Tolkāppiyam which enable us to prove that they need

\* The word 'முதல்' in the definition might have been borrowed by Pavaṇantimuniṇar from Peruṇṭēvaṇār's commentary on Viracōḷiyam.

not always stand as the initial member. 205th sūtra<sup>1</sup> of Collatikāram says that அன், ஆன், அள் and ஆள் are the suffixes to denote the singular number (of both the masculine and feminine gender) of the third person. Sūtras 5 and 6<sup>2</sup> state that the final ன் and ன் respectively denote the masculine and feminine gender. If ன் and ன் of அன் and ஆன், அள் and ஆள் denote gender, what is it that denotes the third person if it is not அ or ஆ? ஆ is only the lengthened form of the *cuṭṭu* அ since such lengthening is sanctioned by Tolkāppiyāṇār's sūtra 'நீடவருதல் செய்யுளுருரித்தே' (எழுத்திகாரம், உயிர் மயங்கியல், 6) and Tolkāppiyāṇār himself uses it in the first sūtra of Collatikāram 'ஆயிருதிணையினைச்சக்குமனசொல்லே'. Similarly 224th sūtra<sup>3</sup> of Collatikāram says that இர் and ஈர் are the suffixes to denote the second person plural. The 7th sūtra<sup>4</sup> of Collatikāram says that the final ி denotes the plural number. If ி of இர் and ஈர் denotes plural, is it not clear that இ and ஈ denote the second person? Besides, in the sūtra 'எல்லாருமென்னும் படர்க்கையிறுதியு, மெல்லீருமென்னு முன்னிலையிறுதியும்.....' (எழுத்திகாரம், உருபியல், 19) it is stated that எல்லாரும் is of the third person and எல்லீரும் is of the second person. Is it not that 'ஆ' in எல்லாரும் and ஈ in எல்லீரும் respectively denote that the words are of the third and second person? Hence *cuṭṭu* need not be the initial member of a word. Besides the word ஈங்கு is used in the sense of எங்கனிடத்தில் in the sentence பிலம்புகவேண்டும் பெற்றி யீங்கில்லை (Cilappatikāram, 11, 153). I also hear from M. R. Ry. Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Iyeṅgār, Chief Pandit, Tamil Lexicon office that இங்கு, உங்கு and அங்கு are used in Jaffna even today in the sense of என்னிடம், உன்னிடம் and அவனிடம். Hence is it not evident that இ is used to denote the first person, இ and உ, the second person and அ, the third person?

It is generally said that அ denotes the remote object and இ the proximate. Where is the authority for this? It seems that no grammarian has made mention of it. Since it has been shown that இ is used to denote the first and second person, உ the second person, and அ the third person

1. அன் ஆன் அள் ஆளென்னு நான்கு, மொருவர் மருங்கிற் படர்க்கைச் சொல்லே.
2. னக்கா னொற்றே யாடுஉ வறிசொல், னக்கா னொற்றே மகடுஉ வறிசொல்.
3. இர் ஈர் மின்னென வருஉ மூன்றும், பல்லோர் மருங்கினும் பலவற்று மருங்கினுஞ், சொல்லோரைய வென்வனார் புலவர்.
4. ஈக்கானொற்றும் பகரவிறுதியு, மாரைக்களவியுளப்பட மூன்று, நோத் தோன்றும் பலவறிசொல்லே.

and since the person spoken of is further to the speaker than the person spoken to and the person spoken to is intermediate between the speaker and the person spoken of, the use of இ, உ and அ might have been extended by analogy to denote the proximate, intermediate and remote objects respectively. (cf. இவன், உவன் and அவன்).

From these points I hope we can safely infer that *cuttejuttu* need not always stand at the beginning of a word and so the expression 'மொழி முதல்' is not at all necessary in the definition. Hence the definition 'அ இ உ அம்முன் வருகட்டு' as given by Tolkāppiyānār seems to be the accurate one.

## INFERENCE IN INDIAN LOGIC

By

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In a previous article, (pp. 77 to 86—Vol. I pt. I), an attempt was made to show how the conception of invariable concomitance as the essence of inference does not seem to have been "introduced" into Indian Philosophy by either Dinnāga or Praśastapāda and how even the earliest extant literature on the subject—the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras of Kaṇāda, clearly presuppose this doctrine. That at this stage, and even in Vātsyāyana, inference is not based only on similarity, has been amply proved in the article referred to and the same would become clearer as we proceed to trace the doctrine historically from the crude beginnings in Kaṇāda to the subtlest possible discussions of the theory in the famous works of later dialecticians. It is a matter of common experience that ideas tacitly assumed as commonplace by some pioneers are explained, illustrated and set forth in more precise language by their followers, sometimes prompted by the growing desire for precision in matters of technique, but invariably as a reply to critics of opposite schools. The treatment accorded to the conception of *vyāpti* was no exception to this general method.

Kaṇāda, the earliest known systematiser of the Vaiśeṣika doctrines, believes that all knowledge could be accounted for by a reference to two valid sources—preception and inference. Śabda is expressly stated as a form of inference. Some of the modern commentators try to interpret the section as trying to bring Upamāna, Arthāpatti, and Sambhava also under inference, though the sūtra on which this explanation is based

अस्येदमिति-बुद्धयपेक्षितत्वात्. IX—ii—5

by itself could be easily explained otherwise. This may possibly enable us to think of this as a period in the history of Indian thought when only these three *pramāṇas* (*pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *śabda*) were recognised and subtler sub-divisions were to be introduced only later. But, for our present purpose, it is enough if we note that the field of inference was sufficiently

wide, comprising, as it did, all sources of knowledge other than perception. The definition of inference had to include all these ; and Vaiśeṣika Sūtra IX—ii—1 enumerates a number of real relations as the basis of inference. This in the opinion of Dr. Keith is a strong argument to prove that there is no influence of the idea of invariable concomitance in the process of inference in the sūtras of the Vaiśeṣika system. A careful study of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras, however, seems to suggest something different. How are we to explain Vaiśeṣika Sūtra

प्रसिद्धिपूर्वकत्वादपदेशस्य III—i—14

otherwise than by interpreting प्रसिद्धि to mean some relation that has been universally perceived and acknowledged? A *hetu* is valid only when previous experience has shown that it is always co-existent with the object to be inferred, present in all places where the object is present and nowhere where the object is not. If this is to be the interpretation of the word प्रसिद्धि, what is to become of the Sūtras

संयोगि, समवायि, एकार्थसमवायि विरोधि च । III—i—9

अस्येदं कार्यं कारणं संयोगि विरोधि समवायि चेत् ऐकिकम् । IX—ii—1

Do they not seem to indicate the difficulty that was perhaps first felt to understand the real nature of logical reasoning even when the formal process was already recognised? No, if we believe in the interpretation of the word प्रसिद्धि given above ; and this would be clearer if we examine the two sūtras a bit more closely. Kaṇāda is trying to infer the existence of Ātman. The various organs of sense, presuppose the existence of one supreme soul guiding them all. This view is sought to be refuted by a school of logicians who recognise only तादात्म्य and तदुत्पत्ति as the basis of inference.

अन्यदेव हेतुरित्यनपदेशः ॥ III—i—7

अर्थान्तरं हि अर्थान्तरस्य अनपदेशः ॥ III—i—8

How could the various organs lead to a correct inference of Ātman since they are not associated with it by either of the two relations तादात्म्य or तदुत्पत्ति which alone determine valid inference? In attempting to answer this question it is not enough to say simply that "Invariable association is the deciding factor". Kaṇāda naturally explains how objects not standing to each other in the relation of तादात्म्य and तदुत्पत्ति could still lead to a valid

inference of each other, provided however, the relation is constant, and crowns this section by asserting the validity of all these *hetus* inasmuch as their प्रसिद्धि has already been tested.

Our position is strengthened by the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra—

अस्येदं कार्यकारणसम्बन्धश्चावयवाद्भवति । XI—ii—2

In the sūtra IX—ii—1, we have a number of relations referred to. No one could dispute the authority of Praśastapāda's interpretation of the sūtra,

अस्येदमिति सूत्रे कार्यादीनां उपादानं निदर्शनार्थं कृतं, नावधारणार्थम् ।

All kinds of inference are explained by अस्येदमिति. The Nyāya Kaṇāda quotes this sūtra in full and explains how there is no contradiction between Kaṇāda's definition of inference and Praśastapāda's.

An instance may further be pointed out to show how Kaṇāda is anxious to deny the rank of *hetu* to things not invariably connected but only temporarily. He draws a clear distinction between स्वाभाविकगुण and औपाधिकगुण and only the former inseparably associated with their objects would serve as distinguishing marks. From this it is but a short step to recognise only invariably connected objects as leading to valid inference.

Though the conception of vyāpti as the basis of inference thus seems to have been so well known in Kaṇāda's time, we have to admit that it has not been clearly enunciated. The regular process of inference has nowhere been illustrated as in later treatises. We do not also meet with any of the words प्रतिज्ञा etc., except, of course, अवयव used in V. S. IX—ii—2 but in a sense different from that recognised in later works. The real explanation seems to be not that Kaṇāda was ignorant of these categories but that his system being more ontological and ethical, it had no room for a special and detailed treatment of topics more justly belonging to epistemology ; or perhaps the tendency to syncretism in the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems revealed as early as Vātsyāyana by which deficiencies in the one school were to be supplemented by the other, could be traced even to Kaṇāda's days.

Kaṇāda refers also to three kinds of fallacies. The three sub-divisions of inference शेषवत्, पूर्ववत् and सामान्यतोदृष्ट also seem to have been known to him. He actually uses the first in inferring the determining mark of Ākāśa (V. S. II—i—27). Some modern commentators fancy that we have here a reference to the three kinds अन्वय, व्यतिरेक and अन्वयव्यतिरेक but this

seems to be too unhistorical an explanation to be reasonably suggested.

The Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda represents a great advance over the Sūtras of Kaṇāda in all respects. We may even say that only here we have a scientific treatment of the doctrine of Vaiśeṣika philosophy. All that is thrown into a pell-mell confusion in the sūtras is neatly analysed and grouped under various headings. In a country like India seething with intellectual life, no system of philosophy can long remain purely ontological or ethical and it is a peculiar feature of Indian philosophy that every system should devote considerable space to the treatment of pramāṇas or valid sources of knowledge, even when a regular system of philosophy—the Nyāya system—is specially devoted to it. Even so early as Praśastapāda's days in the history of thought, this tendency is visible in him, and he discusses the pramāṇas at some length, though, of course, these are treated under the quality—cognition. By this time, *Upamāna*, *Arthāpatti*, *Sambhava* and *Aitihya* also seen to have risen to the rank of pramāṇas in some schools. Praśastapāda clearly refers to all these and brings them under *Anumāna*.

It is in the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda that we have the earliest elucidation of the conception of Vyāpti.

अनुमेयेन सम्बद्धं प्रसिद्धं च तदन्विते ।

तदभावे च नास्त्येव तल्लिङ्गमनुमापकम् ॥

Pr. Bh. p. 200.

Three conditions are laid down which must be satisfied by every valid reason. "The middle term must be connected with the major, present in similar cases and absent in dissimilar cases." We had already occasion to see how no trace of Buddhist influence could be suggested here. Though some principle of invariable concomitance is referred to here, the definition itself as we shall soon see, was far from perfect. Various amendments were to be made before it could claim scientific precision. But it has its importance as the enunciation of a general principle underlying the various relations referred to by Kaṇāda.

Śrīdhara, in his Nyāya-Kandalī clearly explains the process of inference. How do we arrive at the conception of invariable relation whatever that may consist in? How can we connect this with the past and the future? A distinction to be introduced later—one between लिङ्गज्ञान and ज्ञातलिङ्ग as a valid *hetu*—is clearly foreshadowed, as well as a kind of transcendental

perception—सामान्यलक्षणाप्रत्यासत्ति. Śrīdhara clearly lays down that a large number of instances are carefully observed where fire and smoke are invariably concomitant. What is perceived is a concomitance of the generality of smoke with the generality of fire. Generality being eternal inference is possible in all cases and what is inferred is only 'fire in general and not any particular fire'. With this important contribution of Śrīdhara, the principles involved in an inferential process are all clearly formulated. The attention of the reader may, with advantage, be drawn to the following passages in the Nyāya-Kandalī.

धूमसामान्यस्य अग्निसामान्येन स्वभावमात्राधीनं सहभावं निश्चित्य इदमनेन नियतं इति नियमं निश्चिनोति ॥

p. 209. l. 21

.....एतेन प्रत्यक्षे उपलब्धविद्यमानविषयत्वात् अतीतानागतासु व्यक्तिषु कथं नियमग्रहणमिति प्रत्युक्तम् । न हि विशेषनिष्ठं व्याप्तिग्रहणं आचक्ष्महे विशेषहान्या । सामान्येन व्याप्तिग्रहणे तु सर्वत्रैव निर्विशङ्कः प्रत्ययः, तस्य सर्वत्र एकरूपत्वात् ..... ।

अत एव धूमसंविद्या वह्निमात्रमेव अनुसन्दधानः तमनुधावति न विशेषमाद्रियते ॥

p. 209. l. 26.

the Gaṇapāṭha is expressly negated by Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā, a commentary on the Kāśikā Vṛtti, on page 901, Vol I, in the following words—अपाणिनीयत्वाद्गणस्य ॥

Coming next to his refutation of the argument that Brāhmaṇas did not form part of the Veda in the time of Pāṇini, we confess our utter inability to follow the logic of his arguments. He says :—"If in Pāṇini's time the Brāhmaṇas were not regarded as forming part of the Veda, then the Veda in his time must have comprised only of the Mantras. This is tantamount to recognising the identity of the Mantras with the Chandas. \* \* \* Hence the recognition of the identity between मन्त्र and छन्दस् is proved to be unjustifiable. So मन्त्र is not only different from छन्दस् but means something more than that. It includes ब्राह्मण."

If at all the above arguments could be taken to prove anything, it may be that the Chandas of Pāṇini did not form part of the Veda, and it requires an advanced kind of logic to conclude that Mantra included Brāhmaṇa.

The next argument that is refuted is with regard to the significance of the derivation of the word वाच्यार्थयणिः by the Vārtikakāra, while Pāṇini does not provide for such a derivation. Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī says :—"There is a Vārtika छागवृषयोरपि attached to the Sūtra कौशल्यकार्मार्थ्याभ्यां च (IV-i-155) by which the derivation वाच्यार्थयणः may be obtained. It has been clearly stated in the Mahābhāṣya that the particle च in the Sūtra कौशल्यकार्मार्थ्याभ्यां च suggests the inclusion of the words छाग and वृष also. So the Vārtika is useless."

In the two editions of the Mahābhāṣya we have access to, that of the Benares Edition, and that of the Bombay Sanskrit Series, we do not find the Vārtika छागवृषयोरपि attached to the Sūtra (IV-i-155,) as above stated. Further, in the same editions under the Sūtra concerned, we do not find the Bhāṣyakāra hinting that the Vārtika is useless because of the presence of the particle च. But we rather find him saying thus with regard to the significance of the particle च :—(Bombay Sanskrit Series Vol. II. Page 263, and Benares Edition, IV Adhyāya. Page 92).

चेन संनियोगः करिष्यते । युद् च । किं च । यच्चान्यस्याप्नोति । किं चान्यस्याप्नोति । आदेश इति ॥

And Kaiyaṣa comments upon the above statement thus :—चेनेति । तेन युगपदागमादेशो भवतः ॥

From the above passages it should be clear that the Bhāṣyakāra does not even hint that the Vārtika is useless because of the presence of the particle च. Thus we have to conclude that our friend Mr. K. Chakravartī should have had a different passage of the Bhāṣya before him, or he should have misinterpreted the above passage. We are sure, of course, that the first should have been the fact, in which case we shall once more request our friend to give us the exact references.

We are rather led to infer from the conclusion that the article has been conceived purposely to give vent to the feeling of displeasure at our bold plagiarism of the arguments of Brahmaśrī Satyāvrata Sāmaśramī, with regard to two fundamental points, i. e., तदिदं विद्यास्थानं and उपधा. Here are our remarks on the first :—"It is nothing but the echo of the innate apprehension that his work could not stand on a par with the famous Vaiyākaraṇa and it needs no saying that the first grammarian who expounded the principles of grammar as a system was no other than the sage Pāṇini." Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī wants to prove by his argument on the point (page जी of the Niruktālocanā, Bibliotheca Indica Edition of the Nirukta) that Yāska by himself saying that the study of Vyākaraṇa would not be considered complete without the study of his Nirukta, presuppose a Vyākaraṇa and this Vyākaraṇa should have been the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. And we do not at all claim any originality for proving that the Aṣṭādhyāyī had no predecessor of its kind. We simply take it for granted as a matter of course, and nothing more.

With regard to the second, he remarks :—"The argument relating to उपधा which Mr. Subrahmanyam regards as contributing to his view was also suggested by Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī with this difference that he did so with reference to Samhitā-Lakṣaṇa.' Our remarks with regard to the term 'upadhā' read thus :—

"The word 'upadhā' is used in the same sense as defined by Pāṇini, by the Niruktakāra." (ante. p. 189.)

And with reference to the Samhitā Lakṣaṇa Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī says (Niruktālocana page जि) :—निरुक्तस्यास्य प्रथमाध्याय एव "परः संहिता"—इति पाणिनीयं संहितालक्षणमुद्धृतं दृश्यते इति प्रथमः । Here Paṇḍita Sāmaśramī only means that the Sūtra was quoted by the author of the Nirukta from

## PĀṆINI AND YĀSKA—A REJOINDER.

By

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM B.A. (HONS.)

In the Jijñāsā (Enquiry) Vol. I. Part. III Pp. I—6 Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī B.A., tries to refute our arguments regarding the anteriority of Pāṇini to Yāska published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras Vol I. Pt. II.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī for drawing our attention to the fact that another scholar tried many years ago to prove the anteriority of Pāṇini to Yāska. It is submitted that our ignorance of Niruktālocanam, and not Niruktasamālocanā, (where such an attempt is made) by Brahmasrī Satyavrata Sāmasramī, whom Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī makes Sāmasāstrī, is mostly due to the fact that scholars like our friend have not yet chosen to controvert the arguments of Paṇḍita Sāmasramī.

In refuting one of our arguments Mr. K. Chakravartī says :—" In the Nirukta there is a sentence of which the sentence तदिदं विद्यास्थानं etc. forms the sequel—नामान्याख्यातानीति शाकटायननैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाण्याख्यातानीति गार्ग्यवैयाकरणानां चैके ॥ which represents Śākaṭāyana as a Grammarian i.e. a maker of grammar. The name of Pāṇini is not to be found in the Nirukta."

We have at first to note that the sentence seems to have a different reading as printed in the Venkateswar Steam Press. It runs thus :—

नामान्याख्यातजानीति शाकटायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च । न सर्वाणीति गार्ग्यो वैयाकरणानां चैके ॥

We would leave it for our readers to imagine the absurdity that would result in meaning, in having नामान्याख्यातानीति instead of नामान्याख्यातजानीति. The other mistakes could be sheltered under the printer's devil. The above sentence is taken to represent Śākaṭāyana as a 'maker of grammar.' We have at once to confess our inability to discover anything in the sentence that would represent Śākaṭāyana as a 'maker of grammar.' In this connection we are very sorry to note that we have no edition of the commentary by 'Gargācārya,' and we have to request Mr. K. Chakravartī to quote chapter and verse in support of his statements. In the commentary

of Durgācārya published in the Venkateswar Steam Press Edition of the Nirukta there is no reference to Pāṇini by name at all in this connection.

In refuting our argument relating to the sūtra परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता he says :—"It is a custom with the author of the Nirukta to mention the name of the author whose view he quotes. But in reference to the sūtra परः सन्निकर्षः संहिता which occurs in the Nirukta also the author makes no mention of the source from which it is taken. Had he borrowed the sūtra from Pāṇini, he would not have been so careless as to fail to mention his name. On the other hand it is extremely probable that Pāṇini borrowed the Sūtra from the Nirukta."

A careful study of the Aṣṭādhyāyī would show that Pāṇini uses many technical terms, some of which he defines and some he does not. With regard to the first, it should be that they were not in use before him or that they were not known before Pāṇini in the sense in which he was using them ; and with regard to the second, it could be definitely inferred that they were in use before him in the sense in which he was using them. In so far as Pāṇini took the trouble of defining certain terms, would it be too much to suppose that he should have been the inventor of those terms at least in the sense in which he used them ? And it should be particularly true in the present instance because of the fact that this definition of the term संहिता is quoted, but not adopted by the author of the Nirukta. Further, if we take into consideration along with this the fact that the author of the Nirukta uses the term उपधा in the sense in which Pāṇini defined it in his Aṣṭādhyāyī, and does not give his own definition of the term, it could conclusively be proved that the author of the Nirukta should have borrowed from the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Proceeding next, Mr. K. Chakravartī says that the term उपधा is taken from the grammar of Śākaṭāyana by the author of the Nirukta. In the absence of any corroborative evidence in support of the above statement, we have to express our regret for not being gifted with any clairvoyant vision to find in the grammar of Śākaṭāyana the source of this term.

His refutation of Pāṇini's priority to the Atharva Veda and the Upaniṣads is based upon his view of the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Gaṇapāṭha. It has to be pointed out that in the world of scholars, who profess to know something of Vyākaraṇa, the Pāṇiniyan authorship of the Gaṇapāṭha is not a settled fact so as to form the basis of any theory. And Pāṇini's authorship of

the Pāṇiniyan Aṣṭādhyāyī. We will leave it for our readers to judge how far the above remark of the Paṇḍit should have suggested our argument on 'upadhā'.

In conclusion we have of course to confess that we may well be taken to have borrowed the whole idea of proving the anteriority of Pāṇini to Yāska.

For the sake of amusement we will here quote what Śivadatta Śarmā says in his preface to the edition of the Nirukta (Śrī Venkateswar Stream Press) and will also request our readers to compare it with what our friend Mr. K. Chakravartī says with regard to his argument proving the unjustifiability of identifying Mantra with Chandas. We do not like to offer any remark ourselves. Paṇḍit Śivadatta Śarmā says:—(Page 4 Nirukta, Śrī Venkateswar Stream Press. प्रस्तावना) यदि छन्दःपदं मन्त्रपर्यायभूतं, तर्हि 'मन्त्र-धेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो णिवन्' इति सूत्रे मन्त्रपदं निर्दिश्य, तदुत्तरसूत्रे 'अवे यजः' इति सूत्रेऽपि तदनुवर्त्य, मन्त्र एव प्रवृत्त्यर्थं, 'विजुपेक्षन्दसि' इति सूत्रे छन्दःपदं नैवोपाद-दीत । मन्त्रपदानुवृत्तिसम्भवेऽपि पुनश्छन्दःपदोपादानेन मन्त्रछन्दःपदयोरपर्यायित्वमेव पाणिनिसम्मतमिति निश्चयम् ॥

Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī says:—"If this is so, then the fact that Pāṇini sometimes uses the word मन्त्र and sometimes the word छन्दस् in his Sūtras, becomes inexplicable. Further, मन्त्रधेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो णिवन् (III-2-71), अवे यजः (III-2-72), विजुपेक्षन्दसि (III-2-73), these three Sūtras occur in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. The first of these three Sūtras deal (*it should be dealt*), with the case of Mantras; because मन्त्रे occurs as one of the padas of which the Sūtra is composed. The second Sūtra also, owing to its connection with the pada मन्त्रे through Anuvṛtti from the first has reference to the case in which Mantra is concerned. Now, if Mantra and Chandas mean the same thing then the use of the 'pada' छन्दसि in the last of these Sūtras becomes useless; for the pada मन्त्रे could also be connected with this Sūtra by anuvṛtti".

In conclusion, we beg to express our sincere feelings of admiration for the very high ideals of literary honesty preached by our friend Mr. Kalipada Chakravartī, and in anticipation, also express our feelings of gratification, if he should prove the inaccuracy of our arguments in a succinct and well-written article with the requisite references. We are not particular about anybody's anteriority and we are always prepared to revise our opinion provided we are asked to do so on irrefutable evidences.

A NOTE  
ON  
'SOME UNEXPLAINED PRĀKṚT PASSAGES'.  
IN THE TRIVANDRUM PLAYS.

BY  
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With reference to the article on 'Some Unexplained Prākṛt Passages' by Dr. Kunhan Rājā appearing in the last issue of the Journal I may be permitted to offer a few remarks.

The author seems to make no distinction between suggested views and statements of facts and rushes to conclusions which, to say the least are apt to be felt by some as nothing short of impertinence. His remarks, about my having carried 'critical faculty too far' in suggesting that the name Svapnanāṭaka may have been given to Svapnavāsadatta to show it is an adaptation, show that he has missed the central point of my suggestion. True it is we have Śākuntala-Nāṭakam, Samvaraṇam-Nāṭakam and Cūdāmaṇi-Nāṭakam, but we have not Abhijñāna-Nāṭakam, Tapatī-Nāṭakam, and Āścarya-Nāṭakam, which alone is a parallel to Svapna-Nāṭakam. This is a rare combination and a parallel cannot be cited. Dr. Rājā's comment is, therefore, wide of the mark.

Again he refers to an 'unfortunate' argument of mine in saying 'the omission of the Nāṇḍī in the hurry of adaptation', closely following upon the expression 'clever playwright'. My unfortunate self cannot really see the force of my lucky friend's comment. Surely a clever playwright need not necessarily be well versed in all the technicalities and conventions of Sanskrit dramaturgy. Even a clever man is liable to forget conventions in his hurry; why for that matter we have the example of the clever author himself.

Coming to his categorical statement that Kerala could not have produced in that distant past an author of Bhāsa's literary merit, I believe I am within my rights to ask him, what exactly his knowledge of the ancient history of Kerala is. His knowledge, as it is of others, is quite blank. There is indeed nothing inherently impossible in our land producing a Bhāsa—a land which has produced a Prabhākara, a Śaṅkara and a host of other distinguished poets and dramatists; such statements, coming from scholars whose

position entitles respect for their views are as unfortunate as they are misleading.

The learned author devotes one full page to explain his interpretation of Kriḍā against the views of Mr. S. K. Śāstrī, my esteemed Professor. The explanation offered by Prof. Śāstrī is perfectly satisfactory, as his always are. It is inconceivable what further explanation Dr. Rājā can give. He cannot really base any argument on its usage in Malayalam, where it means only 'play'. If by this term the Doctor understands 'Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra, his reference to Sv. Act V is particularly unhappy. There Udayana goes to meet Padmāvatī, who has been suffering from headache—a very inopportune moment to conceive of Kriḍā in this sense; and further the poet describes 'Vipralambha'. If the term may be taken as referring to Vipralambha, there is indeed some justification possible, but unfortunately we cannot assign these senses to the word. In the ordinary sense it may refer to the Sv. Act II; but the 'Ball-play' described here is not the pivotal incident of the drama. If I may be excused the use of a śleṣa, I may say that Kriḍā may be connected with Sv. in the sense that it is a 'play'.

Abhinavagupta's reference clearly shows that there is a drama called Svapnavāsavadatta which is Kriḍā-pradhāna. Tīkāsarvasvakāra refers to a Sv. wherein Vāsavadattā's marriage is described. Śāradātanaya refers to a Sv. describing the marriage of Padmāvatī and this work has much resemblance to the printed text. It is not conceivable how the same drama could describe two different Vivāhas<sup>1</sup>, how the same drama could have two different pivotal incidents, nor again how the same drama could be both Artha śṛṅgāra and Kāma śṛṅgāra. These have to be explained, if Dr. Rājā maintains there is only one Sv. I hope he will elucidate this point also in his promised note and suggest a feasible way of accommodating these differences.

The author's references to M. M. G. Śāstrī are, to say the least, very uncharitable; simply because he has committed a few mistakes or has propounded a theory which cannot stand a crucial test, his whole work in the field of Sanskrit literature cannot be condemned. He has rendered signal service to the cause of oriental scholarship. It must be conceded that he is perfectly entitled to have his own opinion, as we can have ours, on the Bhāsa question. Especially now that Dr. Śāstrī is no more, Dr. Rājā's remarks come with ill-becoming grace.

<sup>1</sup> My view of this in the light of the explanation so kindly given by Prof. S. K. Śāstrī I hope to be able to set forth on another occasion. K. R. P.

A NOTE  
ON  
THE CĀRVĀKA SYSTEM.  
By

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M. A.,  
LIBRARIAN, ADYAR MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY.

The traditional author of this system of thought is Bṛhaspati. A set of verses beginning with

न खर्गो नापवर्गो वा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः ।  
नैव वर्णाश्रमादीनां क्रियाश्च फलदायकाः ॥

is attributed to Bṛhaspati, the founder of that system by certain writers like Mādhavārya, the author of the Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha. To the same writer are attributed some sūtras also about this system. The following two references are worthy of note.

तथा बार्हस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि :—

पृथिव्यप्तेजोवायुरिति तत्त्वानि ।  
तत्समुदाये शरीरेन्द्रियविषयसंज्ञा ।  
तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम् ।  
किष्वादिभ्यो मदशक्तिवद्विज्ञानम् ।

The above reference is from Bhāskara's Bhāṣya on the Brahma Sūtras<sup>1</sup>. It is well known that this Bhāskara is older than 841 A. D. for, Vācaspati who was living in the latter year criticises in more than 30 places in his Bhāmātī, the views of Bhāskara. It is also clear that this Bhāskara is later than Śaṅkarācārya.

An older writer refers to the same sūtras with a slight difference in the reading: Kamalaśīla, the pupil of Śāntarakṣita in his commentary on the Tattvasaṅgraha of his master makes the following remarks :—

तथा हि—तस्यैतत्सूत्रम् :—

परलौकिकोऽभावात्परलोकाभाव इति ।  
पृथिव्यापस्तेजोवायुरिति चत्वारि तत्त्वानि ।  
तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम् । इति

\* \* \* \* \*

तथा च तेषां सूत्रम् ।

तत्समुदाये विषयेन्द्रियसंज्ञा ॥'

From these references it is clear that Bṛhaspati wrote a set of sūtras on materialism, apart from the verses which are attributed to him. Śāntaraksita's date is fairly certain; he belongs to the eighth century of the Christian Era. Bṛhaspati must be older.

There seem to have been two different commentators on the Bṛhaspati sūtras prior to Śāntaraksita. This point is made clear by this statement of Kamalaśīla (i.e.).

तथा हि—पृथिव्यापस्तेजोवायुरिति चत्वारि तत्त्वानि । तेभ्यश्चैतन्यमिति । तत्र केचिद्वृत्तिकारा व्याचक्षते—उत्पद्यते तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम् । अन्ये अभिव्यज्यत इत्याहुः ॥'

It is not wrong to conclude from this that prior to the eighth century of the Christian Era the sūtras were so old as to allow time for two commentators. The verses quoted Madhavārya were extracted from some metrical rendering of the old Bārhaspatya-sūtras, which was made perhaps by one of the old Bārhaspatya commentators referred to.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY BY S. RADHAKRISHNAN—*King George V. Professor of Philosophy, University of Calcutta—Volume II.*

[Demy 8vo, pages 797]—Library of Philosophy—[25 s. net.]

Printed and Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London.

*Reviewed by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Professor S. Kuṇḍaswami Sastri M.A., I.E.S. Madras.*

In form and substance, in expository brilliance and estimative tact, and in textual correlations and technical elucidations, the second volume of Professor S. Radhakrishnan's Indian Philosophy, which deals with the six Brahmanical systems, surpasses the previous volume to a large extent, though intended by the author to be but its appropriate and necessary sequel. In this admirably written book, with a remarkable measure of success, he compresses into a lucid and interesting account, a bewildering host of details pertaining to the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Vedānta systems of philosophy and has certainly redeemed them from the wearying boredom of many an English rendering by many an unphilosophical and unimaginative expositor. This is a work of gripping and living interest, presenting the course of Indian philosophical thought in the six Brahmanical systems as a perennial stream of progressive sweetness and exhibiting the makers of these systems not as so many embalmed corpses but as living embodiments of philosophical insight and continually suggestive forces of well-regulated reason. Professor Radhakrishnan rightly sets up before himself *Vācaspati-miśra* as the model of true philosophical spirit and with the inspiration that could be derived from such a model, proceeds to interpret and evaluate the ancient philosophers of India at their best and to correlate them with the live issues of contemporary thought. Some of the foreign reviewers of this work disapprove of this procedure and suggest that Professor Radhakrishnan has attempted to read into the crude phases of Indian philosophical systems several developments of modern thought, of which the traditional exponents of those systems were completely innocent. It may be unhesitatingly stated that such foreign reviewers have, in this kind of criticism, betrayed their scant appreciation of the philosophical

calibre of Professor Radhakrishnan as a typical Indian in whose mentality some of the best features of Indian philosophy have found an abiding place of nurture and likewise of the ancient philosophers of India. Those who have a good knowledge of Sanskrit philosophical texts and western methods of thought and criticism cannot fail to be impressed with the earnest effort made throughout this volume, to combine fidelity to original sources with intelligent interpretation and criticism.

One of the most attractive features of this admirable book is the inimitably telling way in which certain technical theories are elucidated, fundamental doctrines are set forth and the rich suggestiveness of such theories and doctrines is rendered intelligible. By way of illustration, one may refer to the extract from Henry IV at page 92 in connection with the elucidation of the Naiyāyika theory of *anyathāsiddhi*. It may likewise be of interest to note how beautifully Professor S. Radhakrishnan sounds a suggestive note of warning to such students of modern philosophy as might have developed a mentality which may be easily likened to a butterfly, or a grasshopper or a cricketer and as might hastily deprecate what, to imperfect understanding, would seem a dogmatic or *āgama-ridden* tone in the Brahmanical systems of philosophy. In appreciating the force of this remark, it would be useful to refer to the extract from Goethe given at the footnote of page 21 and Professor S. Radhakrishnan's remarks in several places about the true significance of the nature of the Vedic sanction behind the *āstika* systems of philosophy.

The best part of this volume is the VIII Chapter on Sankara's Advaita Vedānta. The brilliant exposition of the chief features of advaitism in this chapter is supported by abundant extracts from standard works on Advaita and care is taken to see that such extracts do not serve as a drag and mar the general interest. The treatment of the philosophy of Mīmāṃsā is in several respects imperfect and it is not intelligently correlated with other philosophical systems in the manner in which such correlation is called for. The philosophical side of Madhvācārya's system is very inadequately treated and the meagre statement of Madhvācārya's theory of error and truth is misleading and perfunctory. It is rather unfortunate that such an admirable and beautiful work happens to be disfigured in several places by bad mistakes arising from a defective control over the textual matter in Sanskrit philosophical works. For instance, those who have acquired a specialistic proficiency in the traditional texts of the Śāstras would certainly be disconcerted by the mistranslation of *samitiṣṭhate* in line 3

of page 26, by the hopeless confusion of ideas in the note on *avacchedaka* at page 124, by the absurd illustration of *definition by genus and difference* given in note (1) at the foot of page 48, by the reproduction of certain mistakes appearing in the section dealing with *alaukikaḥpratyakṣa* in Dr. Keith's 'Atomism and Indian logic' and by such other defects. In a big and difficult work like the volume under review, defects such as those described, however serious they may be when considered by themselves, ought not to prevent impartial critics from duly appreciating the outstanding merits of its main aspects. The distinguished Professor, with a commendable grasp of the fundamentals of Indian philosophical systems, has in this volume given a brilliant and generally correct account of the six Brahmanical systems, and if there are several defects in this account, more especially on its technical side, it is the privilege of constructive critics to hope that this edition will soon be replaced by a revised edition free from such defects. We have no doubt that such a revised edition will prove to be a standing monument of Professor S. Radhakrishnan's remarkable gifts and attainments and will deservedly occupy the rank of a philosophical classic, which it already bids fair to win as much through its inherent worth as through the international reputation of its eminent author.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MALAYALAM PHONETICS BY. L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER, M. A., ERNAKULAM, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1925.

This is a small leaflet of 30 pages, being a number of one the Calcutta University Phonetics series; and it forms the result of the labours of a real enthusiast to investigate a problem which is of great importance to all students of the Science of Language. Malayalam was perhaps originally a mere dialect of Tamil. But the original dialect came under the influence of not only the Sanskrit speaking Aryans, but also of the Arab and Syrian merchants. The field of investigation being very large, we have no right to expect a thorough treatment of the sounds in this dialect modified by diverse influences. We must also recognise that the author has certain disadvantages. He is not a real Malayali; he is a descendant of the Tamil settlers in Malabar, who do not speak correct Malayalam and cannot detect the niceties in pronunciation. There are not many in the field whom he can consult and whose opinions he can use for comparisons and corrections. The leaflet is published under the auspices of the Calcutta University, where there is no adequate provision for Malayalam studies. From the preface, it appears that the author has not received any help or suggestion from a Malayali. The present reviewer is under an equally

great disadvantage in that he speaks Malayalam with a particular accent and intonation which the author may not recognise as the standard that he has chosen. The author chooses Cochin State as the seat of standard Malayalam (p. 1) People of Valluvanad in south Malabar have the same boast and Calicut people hold out a similar claim. It is the eternal boast of Travancore people that they alone know correct Malayalam. Even in Cochin State, dialects differ with castes and even with families. The question and answer :

Q. [Pārvati ippol varikayāno ?] (*Is Parvati come just now ;*)

A. [Patt<sup>a</sup> nālapat<sup>a</sup> divasam āyi] (*It is ten or forty days*);

When spoken by members of certain families will be heard as :

Q. [Vartapperia ?] (literally—*Is it fried bananas ?*)

A. [Pālapāyasāyi] (literally—*It has become milk pudding*)

This is a standing joke in Malabar.

When there is such diversity of dialect, it will be unjust on the part of a reviewer to criticise minor points. Still certain slight inaccuracies and lapses must be pointed out. *n* is the nasal of *t* series and *ṇ* of *ṭ* series in Malayalam. Malayalis pronounce the nasal of *t* series as *n*, unlike people of other parts of India (of pp. 2 and 3, 14 and 15) [vālapalam] is wrong [p] ought to be doubled (p. 3) There is no *ṭ* sound either in Sanskrit or Malayalam (p. 3) *maṇipravālam* is not "an incongruous jumble of Malayalam roots and Sanskrit endings". It is a mixture of Malayalam with Sanskrit words bearing Sanskrit endings. Affixing Sanskrit endings to Malayalam roots was a parody for the sake of fun (p. 4). No Malayali pronounces [povonom], but only [pavanan]. It is a Sanskrit word which never appears in colloquial language and hence undergoes no vowel corruption (p. 6). There is no name of a giant like [bh<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>n] or [bh<sup>a</sup>g<sup>a</sup>n] (p. 11) [vātil] [palpa] and [viśārikkuka] are not Malayalam pronunciations; perhaps Tamil settlers pronounce so. (p. 13) [Vanṇu] and [āminiāvuṭṭam] are also examples of Malayalam spoken by Tamil settlers (usually called *Paṭṭarmalayālam* (p. 15) [anti] is not a "colloquial of the illiterate class". It is a pure Malayalam, being an early adaptation from Sanskrit, when sound corruptions were greater; words adopted from another language undergo greater corruption of sounds at earlier stages than at later stages (p. 16) [vāḷapp<sup>a</sup>l<sup>a</sup>m] is another instance of *Paṭṭarmalayālam* (p. 17). The author does not seem to know the derivative meaning of [Venṇīr] (p. 18). [Vera] is not a *line*, but *worms*; no one pronounces so, but only [vara] (p. 18). No educated Malayali says [gurutvam] and [viḍḍhitvam]. This is missionary Malayalam—usually called *Pādrī malayālam* (p. 18). The author gives [nei] (*ghee*) as an instance of diphthong (p. 10) and also [ney] (*ghee*) as an instance of a word in [y] (p. 7).

Following the *sūcikaṭāhanyāya*, I come now to bigger things. The rule given in section (ii) under number (3) on p. 8 is not complete. It does not explain words like [cekar<sup>a</sup>] (*wing*) instead of [cika<sup>a</sup>]; [tekayunnu] instead of [tikayunnu] (*completes*); [veṣam] instead of [viṣam] (*poison*).

Words ending in broken consonants (*cillukal* in Malayalam) are literary. In spoken language a vowel is uniformly added at the end except after (n) and [l] under certain conditions (p. 7). The author does not seem to make the difference clear and this peculiarity of [n] and [l] is also not noted by him.

The palatal value of [k] has nothing to do with a neighbouring palatal (within a Malayalam word). The author does not make the point clear, [K] is palatal in [pāvakka] (*a fruit*) though there is no palatal element in the word, and after [i] [k] is not palatal in [cikkunnu] (*he scatters*). This palatalisation affects [ṇ] also, Cf [iṇṇu] and [mattaṇṇa]. In the former (ṇ) is not palatal, in the latter it is (p. 11 and 14). This palatalisation rules is rule complex and the author does not seem to have analysed the examples sufficiently to draw the general rules.

Change of [t] and [d] into [l] and of [ṭ] and [ḍ] into [ṭ] is very common in Malayalam. The author does not give the rule correctly. His rule does not cover cases like talkālam (Sanskrit *tatkāla*), [tālparyam] (Sanskrit *tātparya*). He gives no rule in the case of [ṭ] and [ḍ] (pp. 12 and 13).

Never does "confusion arise" between the sounds [n] and [ṇ] except for foreigners. The rule is very definite. The author makes a confusion of the whole point. (pp. 14 and 15).

[m] interchanges with [v] in other places than intervocal. Cf [vaṇṇān] and [maṇṇān]; vāṇam and imānam.

The interchange of [r] and [ṛ] (pp. 16 and 17) is another sphynx for a foreigner especially for the Tamil settlers in Malabar. They always pronounce [nāraṇṇākkari] as [nāraṇṇākkari] (*lemon pickles*). The author gives rules which are inadequate and occasionally wrong. No Malayali pronounces [ghrānam], but only as [ghṛānam] (p. 16). The problem is a greater riddle to a Tamil settler than the problem of *shall* and *will* is to a Scotchman.

The author does not clearly give the rule regarding the doubling of the initial consonant in the latter member of a compound. It has a very important bearing on Malayalam phonetics and is one of the chief features that distinguish Malayalam from Sanskrit. This is a point that has influenced Malayalam grammar to a great extent and it has even affected Sanskrit (cf. p. 21).

The author says that [n] does not call for any special remark. The sound does not occur initially. Is it not an important thing in a book on phonetics? (p. 14).

I have pointed above certain aspects of the question of Malayalam phonetics where there is room for further investigation and revision. The book is the first attempt and as such, we cannot expect a thorough presentation of the case. It must be said that the book forms a real basis for further research in the field. It is a bold enterprise of the author and the author has succeeded well, considering the position impartially. Universities and other organisations engaged in scholarly pursuits must encourage such adventurers and help them to tread the right path in the unexplored wilderness.

Kj.

PRASNAMARGA. XIV AND 327 EDITED BY P. NILAKANTHA ŚARMA AND PUBLISHED BY R. SUBRAHMANYA VADHYAR, PALGHAT.

This is a work on astrology and it deals with praśna and jātaśa portions of Astrology. The volume under review forms the first part and contains adhyāyas one to sixteen. The editor, Mr. Punnaśeri Nīlakaṇṭha Nambi, Principal, Central Sanskrit College, Pattambi adds explanatory footnotes wherever necessary. The work is neatly printed and well got up.

T. R. Chintāmaṇi.

NAISADHA. CANTOS 6-12. EDITED WITH THE COMMENTARY OF MALLINATHA.

Mr. Subrahmanya Vādhyaṛ published a few years ago the first six cantos of the Naiśadha with the commentary of Mallinātha. The second part is now issued and it contains cantos 6-12. Though the edition professes to be a critical one, we are sorry to note, it is not. The editor wrongly attributes to Mallinātha want of proficiency in grammar, which, to say the least, is presumptuous. The author of the work is not King Śrī Haṛṣa as is sought to be made out in the introduction, but only Śrī Haṛṣa. The printing is good.

T. R. Chintāmaṇi.

## NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

July, 1927.

"The Meaning and Etymology of Pūjā" By Prof. Carl Charpentier.—

Two more sections appear on this subject. The author tries to strengthen his derivation of *pūjā* from the Dravidian *pūcu* (smear) and shows that in ancient India the main form of worship was by smearing the form of the God with various pastes.

Vedic Studies. By A. Venkatasubbiyah, M. A., Ph. D.

He takes the word *phaliga* for consideration and tries to relate the word with *sphaṭika* and argues that the form *phaliga* is the result of some Prākṛtic influence.

August, 1927.

"Date of Bhāskara Ravi Varman" By K. G. Sankar, B.A. B.L.—After discussing the dates assigned to Bhāskara Ravi Varman, King of Travancore, the author of this paper comes to the conclusion that he should have flourished between 1073 A. D. and 1131 A.D.

"The interpretation of the Upaniṣads" By Umescandra Bhattācārya M.A., B.L.—The article is continued from the previous numbers. The author arrives at the conclusion that to distinguish the philosophy of the Upaniṣads from that of the Vedāntasūtras is meaningless. For any philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the nucleus is to be found in the sūtras.

September, 1927.

Sir George A. Grierson, K. C. I. E.—In a supplement edits (in Roman characters) the Śaurasenī and Māgadhi Stabakas of Rāma Śarman (Taṅkavā-gīśa) with six plates.

INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

September, 1927.

Jaina References in the Dhammapada, by M. Govinda Pai.—The author of this paper tries to prove that Buddhism, the *arhanta vagga* of the Dhammapada is a clear indication of that fact. The word *arhant* is used only in the sense of Jaina and not Buddhist. At least two *Tīrthāṅkaras* (i.e. Rṣabha and Vīra) should be regarded to be older than the Dhammapada.

Development of Buddhist art in South India III By Devaprasad Ghosh.—In this part, the author deals with Buddhistic sculptures at Amarāvati, and Jaggayapetta. After describing in detail the famous

sculptures of these two places the author shows how there is an individuality in the sculptures of the South, though at the same time its connection with the North is kept up.

*Authorship of the Nighaṇṭu* By *Chamuṇḍali*.—The author discusses in this paper the authorship of the Nighaṇṭu collections which have been commented upon by Yāska. He declares with Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, whom he quotes, that Yāska himself is the author of that collection; the author severely criticises Satyavrata Sāmāśrami who differs from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.

*Ancient Tamils and the Nāgas*, By *C. S. Srinivasachari M. A.*—The author discusses in this paper the origin of the Nāgas; their connection with the south of India; their connection with serpents; their civilization; their fusion with the Dravidians and so on. Then the author speaks of ancient Nāga Kingdoms in Jafna, north Ceylon and other places, and the final submerging of those kingdoms.

*Mauryan Art*, By *Achyuta Kumār Mitra*.—The various forms of Mauryan Architecture and Sculpture are well discussed in this paper. The discussion relates mainly to the sculptures got in Śāranāth and those found in in the Patna Museum at present. The paper is accompanied with six illustration.

*Indian Literature Abroad*, VIII, By *Prokhat Kumār Mukherjee*.—This is a continuation, being the eighth instalment of a series of articles. The author gives here another list of Indian works which are preserved in translations in foreign countries. The article will continue.

*Kumārila and Diṇnāga*, By *H. R. Raṅgaswāmi Aiyangar*.—The author states in this paper that most of the anti-Buddhistic arguments of Kumārila are directed against, mainly, Diṇnāga. The author of the Nyāyaratnākara quotes a large number of passages in this connection and most of them agree with the Tibetan version of the Pramāṇasamuccaya.

*Max Müller's Introduction to the Rgveda-prāṭisākhya*, By *Balakrishna Ghosh*.—The author translates from German Max Müller's Introduction. The translation will continue.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA, October, 1924.

*Revised Text and Translation of two of The Kūram Plates*, By the *Late Dr. E. Hultzsch*.—Dr. Hultzsch re-edits these plates a second time, for the late Dr. Keilhorn had some more information about these plates. The inscription is in Sanskrit verses. The text is accompanied by a translation.

*Dhanaidaha Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Kumāragupta I.* The year 113, By *Rādhāgovinda Basak*.—The author edits a valuable Copper plate Sanskrit inscription belonging to about 432-33, A. D. (i.e.) the period of Kumāragupta I. The author makes a few observations on the orthography and gives a translation. The inscription is important, being sufficiently old.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY, July, 1927.

*The Philosophy of Bhāskara*. By *M. L. Sirkar*.—Mr. Sirkar deals with the leading tenets of the Bhedābheda school of Bhāskara in this paper in 23 sections. Bhāskara is a realist in the full sense of the term and consequently he is not prepared to accept the doctrine of māyā so ably propounded by Śaṅkara and consequently he refutes that doctrine. The author deals with the theories of knowledge according to Bhāskara; with his conception of the absolute, infinite and finite; his conception of mokṣa and so on.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW, April, 1927.

*Poems and Plays of Bhāsa II.* By *Dr. L. Sarup*.—This article is a continuation of the one previously published. The author gives a summary of the Dūtavākyaṃ, Kaṇvaḥāra, Madhyama Vyāyoga, Partimā, Pāñcarātra Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇa, and Svapnavāsavadatta. The author upholds the practically untenable theory that the famous Bhāsa is the author of all the dramas ascribed to him in T. S. S.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE ĀNDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, January, 1927.

*Bhavabhūti and his Identity*, By *S. K. Rāmanātha Śāstri*.—The author summarises in this paper the arguments that tend to identify Bhavabhūti with :—

- (1) Umbeka,—a pupil of Kumārila and a commentator on his vārtika, a copy of which the author of this paper has discovered;
- (2) Sureśvara, the author of the Brahmadārṇyakabhāṣya Vārtika;
- (3) Viśvarūpa, a commentator on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

With regard to the identity of Bhavabhūti with Maṇḍana Miśra, he is not decided; so with regard to his identity with Śrīkaṇṭha, the author of the Brahmanīmāmsa.

TAPASAVATSARAJA. By *M. Ramakrishna Kavi*.—The author of this drama is known as Mātrārāja or Anaṅgaharṣa. A dramatist by name Māyurāja, the author of the Udāttarāghava is known to us. The author of this paper tries to identify the two persons and says that through some prācīna inu-

ence *mātrā* is changed into *māyu* and he adduces certain indirect argument-also. Taking the identification of *Mātrārāja* with *Māyurāja* for granted the author of this paper makes him a Kalacūri Prince and refers him to 600 A. D.

JOURNAL OF THE BEHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, June, 1927.

*Archaeological Research at Pātna* By V.H. Jackson.—The author states that some excavations carried on in Pātna for purposes of some sewage construction have resulted in the discovery of fresh fields for archaeological research. A number of things belonging to ancient Pātna like terracota etc. have been discovered. A regular watch is being kept up for the sake of new and fresh finds.

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES VO. IV Pt II.

*Sanskrit Manuscripts on Alaṅkāra*, By Dr. S. K. De.—Dr. De gives a short description of the following manuscripts found in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. They are :—

1. Udbhaṭālaṅkāra vivṛti
2. Daśarūpaka Vyākhyā
3. Camatkāracandrikā
4. Sāhitya Cūḍāmaṇi
5. Sāhitya Dīpikā
6. Kāvyaṭlakṣaṇa saṅgraha
7. Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa
8. Bhāvaprakāśa
9. Rasāraṇava
10. Rasakalpadruma

*Jānakīharāṇa XVI*.—Dr. L. D. Barnett edits in Roman characters the 16th canto of the *Jānakīharāṇa* from a palm leaf manuscript.

*Ajāmīlamokṣa Prabandha of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa*.—Pandit V. Venkataramaśarma edits in Roman characters this practically unknown work of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa

IBID VO. IV PT. III.

*Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia*, By J. Kats.—Mr. Kats gives the salient points in the Indonesian version of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and shows how it differs from the Indian version.

*Some Readings of Jānakīharāṇa XVI*, By S. K. De.—Dr. De here furnishes certain variant readings of the 16th canto *Jānakīharāṇa* (Published in B. S. O. S. Vol. IV Pt II). Dr. De's readings are from the manuscript of the *Jānakīharāṇa*, deposited in the G. O. Mss. Library, Madras, of which he has a transcript.

### विभ्रमविवेकः

संबन्धज्ञानसापेक्षं यदुपैत्युपयोगिताम् ।

दूषितं व्यभिचारेण तत्स्यात्संशयकारणम् ॥ ९० ॥

दुष्यति व्यभिचारेण बोधकं सत्तयैव न ।

विज्ञानाचार्यसंवित्तिस्तत्तयैवेन्द्रियादिवत् ॥ ९१ ॥

लिङ्गस्याव्यभिचाराद्यत्पार्थ्यते रूपतोऽस्य तत् ।

सिद्धप्रत्ययसामर्थ्यपूर्वं नैतौ [नेतो] निमित्तताम् ॥ ९२ ॥

प्रामाण्ये तदभावे [चा] व्यतिरेकविपर्ययौ ।

तथाह्यव्यतिरेकोऽपि बोधादेवोपवर्णितः ॥ ९३ ॥

व्यतिरेको बो[वा]धबोधादिति तच्छक्तियुक्तता ।

असिद्धे ज्ञानसामर्थ्ये सोऽसिद्धो दूषकः कथम् ॥ ९४ ॥

सिद्धोऽपि सिद्धसामर्थ्यमसामर्थ्यं कथं नयेत् ।

ननु च व्यभिचारित्वे बाधकज्ञानसंततिः [मते] ॥ ९५ ॥

ज्ञानरूपस्य तेनैव विहन्येत प्रमाणतः [ता] ।

अर्थो यथा ज्ञानरूपात्तथैवेत्यवसीयते ॥ ९६ ॥

व्यभिचारमतेरेव न तथैवेति गम्यते ।

तत् सत्यं बाधकज्ञानं यत् तत्र विहन्यते ॥ ९७ ॥

अन्यत्र तु विहाते [घातः] स्यान्न सा [क्षा] नापि चार्थतः ।

अनुमानं भवेत्तच्च तेनापहतगोचरम् ॥ ९८ ॥

नोदेति जाग्रतो बुद्धिरिति भाष्ये निदर्शितम् ।

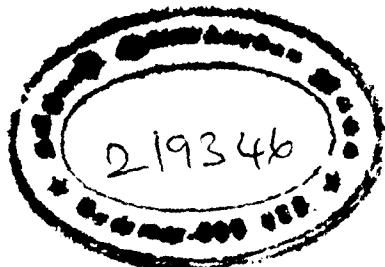
व्यभिचारि [र] ज्ञानमात्रात्प्रामाण्यस्य न नः क्षतिः ॥ ९९ ॥

व्यभिचारिणि नाश्वासः प्रमेय [त्वोर्ध्वतादिके] ।

गतानुगतित्वज्ञे कुतो न्यायविवेकिनः [ता] ॥ १०० ॥

त्रिधापि व्यभिचारेण प्रामाण्यं नोपहन्यते ।

उक्तानां [उक्तं ना] व्यतिरेकस्य प्रमाणत्वनिमित्तता ॥ १०१ ॥



येन स्याद्वैतभावेन व्यभिचारे विपर्ययः ।  
 धूमादीनामपि न तद्वर्ण्यतेऽव्यभिचारतः ॥ १०२ ॥  
 बोधादेव तदुत्पत्तावङ्गभावोऽस्य सम्मतः ।  
 तथा ह्यव्यभिचाराणां कुतश्चन निमित्ततः ॥ १०३ ॥  
 बोधस्यानुदये कश्चित्प्रामाण्यं नानुमन्यते ।  
 एकार्थं [र्था] नियतं बोधं जनयद्व्यभिचार्यपि ॥ १०४ ॥  
 प्रमाणमिष्यते चक्षुर्नीलाभावे सिते भवत् ।  
 न चापि व्यभिचारस्य साक्षात्प्रामाण्यघातिका [ता] ॥ १०५ ॥  
 कचिद्दृष्टा भ्रान्तिबोधे बाधधीरुपघातिका ।  
 प्रमेयत्वोर्ध्वतादीनां बोध एवावधारकः ॥ १०६ ॥  
 नास्मी[स्ती]ति न प्रमाणत्व[त्वं]हेत्वभावाच्च नास्त्यसौ ।  
 तद्भावाच्च प्रमाणत्वमक्षाणां व्यभिचारिणाम् ॥ १०७ ॥  
 न चावधारिते युक्तो द्वैविध्यात्संशयोद्भवः ।  
 न निश्चितेऽपि हि स्थाणावूर्ध्वत्वेन विशेरते ॥ १०८ ॥  
 उपच वधत इत्यतश्चैव चिरे ।  
 [उपपत्तिर्द्विधा तस्येत्यतश्चैव परेऽपि वा]  
 न चावधारणादेव तत्पीतेना [तत्त्वतोऽन] वधारणम् ॥ १०९ ॥  
 एवं यतस्ततो नैवं भवेद्ये[चे]ति सुभाषितम् ।  
 उत्पत्त्यैव च विज्ञानं तथात्वस्यावधारकम् ॥ ११० ॥  
 न चेत्तथान्यतो [प्यस्य कथं] प्रामाण्यसंभवः ।  
 प्रमाणत्वाप्रमाणत्वेऽव्यतिरेकविपर्ययौ ॥ १११ ॥  
 अनङ्ग [ङ्गे] इति मोघैव तयोरत्र विचारणा ।  
 अतोऽवधारयामास [णाभास] व्यभिचारात्परीक्षणम् ॥ ११२ ॥  
 प्रस्तुत्य नैतद्विषयसंबन्ध [न्धं] वने गजौ [जगौ] ।  
 हेत्वभावे फलाभावनियमाद्य [द्या] न्ततो गते[तिम्] ॥ ११३ ॥

अभावे हेतुदोषाणां तथाख्यातिविनिश्चयः ।  
 हेतौ फलं न नियतं परिणामा [माणा] व्यपेक्षिणि ॥ ११४ ॥  
 अदुष्टेऽपि ततो हेतौ न स्फुटग्रहनिश्चयः ।  
 प्रत्यक्षोऽनुभवः साध्यो न ह्यतो व्य [न हेतोर्व्य] भिचारिणः ॥ ११५ ॥  
 विपर्ययफलाभावो हेत्वभावात्तु युज्यते ।  
 निरोधाद्युक्तकार्यस्य विपरीतस्य साधनात् ॥ ११६ ॥  
 दोषाणां नितरां दोषभावोऽभिव्यक्तिमि [मृ] च्छति ।  
 कार्यतिरेको जठरे ब्रह्मो दृष्टे च [दृष्टश्च] भस्मके ॥ ११७ ॥  
 कामाद्युपप्लुते चित्ते दृष्टा [दृष्टोऽपि] स्मरणात्मनि ।  
 सामानाधिकरण्येन मुख्यरूपप्रतीतितः ॥ ११८ ॥  
 अभिज्ञे का च सा [नैकफला] संवित् कं पक्षमववाधताम् ।  
 शून्यं प्रकाशते चेति द्वयं विप्रतिषेधवत् ॥ ११९ ॥  
 भासते रूप[व]त्त्वे च शून्येनोच्येत शून्यता ।  
 सर्वरूपाविवेको हि शून्यमित्यभिभाष्यते ॥ १२० ॥  
 परैरूपाभ्युपगमे तत्र शून्यैव शून्यधीः ।  
 अभावो भावरूपेण भातीति यदि मन्यते ॥ १२१ ॥  
 अन्यथाख्यातिरेवेष्टा शून्यं तदपि चेन्मतम् ।  
 नैतद्विप्रतिषेधेत शून्यताभावरूपके ॥ १२२ ॥  
 अतोऽतदेशकालं यन्मात्रं बाधेह [यन्मात्रं बाधेव] शून्यता ।  
 नन्वस्ति त[य]द्यथावस्तु तथाख्यातौ न विभ्रमः ॥ १२३ ॥  
 न यत्रा [था] स्ति तथाख्याते [तौ] शून्यख्यातेर्न मुच्यते ।  
 केचिदाहुः प्रकारिभ्यः प्रकारा न चकासति ॥ १२४ ॥  
 विविक्तास्ते तथा भ्रान्ति ते च सन्त इति स्थितिः ।  
 अन्ये तन्मानशून्यत्वं मन्वते नान्यथा भ्रमः ॥ १२५ ॥

नान्यथाश्रीर्वस्तुनिष्ठा वस्त्वावर्गान्विना [वस्त्वालम्बाद्विना] न सा ।  
 स्वयं तु वार्तिककृता समाधिरिह वर्णितः ॥ १२६ ॥  
 भावान्तरमभावोऽन्यो न कश्चिदनिरूपणात् ।  
 सत्यं येनास्ति न तथा भासने विभ्रमो मतः ॥ १२७ ॥  
 न यथास्ति प्रकारेण न तु तुच्छः प्रतीयते ।  
 मिथ्या कथमभावोऽस्य [वोऽस्य] स हि भाति तथा च सः ॥ १२८ ॥  
 भावान्तरमभावो हि कया चित्तु व्यपेक्षया ।  
 अन्यथाख्यातिपक्षे च न प्रकारान्तरं न सः ॥ १२९ ॥  
 अन्यथा च न तस्येति [त्र न तत्रेति] ख्यातिर्युक्ता मृषा च सा ।  
 प्रकारान्तरसंसर्गो नन्वसन्नेव भासते ॥ १३० ॥  
 संवेद्यं नान्यरूपत्वमन्यस्य तदाभा [दभावता] ।  
 भिन्नयोरत्र संसर्गो न कश्चिदवभासते ॥ १३१ ॥  
 अन्यात्मनापरख्यातिः स चाभावोऽस्य तन्मृषा ।  
 अभावप्राहिणी बुद्धिर्भावान्तरमुपाश्रिता ॥ १३२ ॥  
 तेन तस्मात्पृथक्त्वेन निरुपाख्यात [सर्वथा] ।  
 [अभावस्य मति] स्तत्ताभाव [त्र भावान्तर] निरूपणात् ॥ १३३ ॥  
 न बुद्ध्या भा [बुद्धिर्भा] वशून्यत्वे मृषा चेति विपश्चितः ।  
 न वै शशविषाणेऽपि [स्यात्] तस्य निरुपाख्याता ॥ १३४ ॥  
 शशंस सद्भी [शशसंसर्गि] रूपं हि विषाणे तत्र गम्यते ।  
 अवस्तु तच्च नो येन खुरकर्मा [र्म] णि वीक्षितः [तम्] ॥ १३५ ॥  
 असंसृष्टस्य सोऽभाव इति ख्यातिर्मृषा च सा ।  
 अङ्गुल्यग्रे हस्तियूथमित्येषा प्रतियामका [भा मता] ॥ १३६ ॥  
 स्वप्नेऽप्यवर्तमानस्य ग्रहणं वर्तमानवत् ।  
 नाविशेषः खपुष्पाच्च स्वकाले तस्य वस्तुता [नः] ॥ १३७ ॥

तत्कालमेव हि ज्ञेयं ज्ञानमेव तु संप्रति ।  
 वर्तमानत्वमप्यत्र दृष्टमन्यत्र रूपके ॥ १३८ ॥  
 स [स्वप्ने] मृषान्यथादृष्टिः परस्परविरोधिनाम् ।  
 अत्यन्ताननुभूतत्वमस्ति तत्कारितं यतः ॥ १३९ ॥  
 न ज्ञेयं शून्यविज्ञानं स्वात्महानिप्रसङ्गतः  
 निरुपाख्यादात्मयोगादस्वातन्त्र्याच्च चेतसः ॥ १४० ॥  
 प्रमाणवन्त्यदृष्टानि कल्प्यन्ते सुबहून्यपि ।  
 संस्कारभेदेहेतूनां तत्त्वं नैकान्ततः स्थितम् ॥ १४१ ॥  
 जन्मान्तरानुभूतं च न स्मर्यत इति स्थितम् ।  
 तत्कर्मफलसंबन्धं प्रतीतिं प्रतिजानते ॥ १४२ ॥  
 तथा ह्यनादौ संसारे कर्मभेदात्स्मरन्नपि ।  
 अनन्तकृतकर्मत्वात् को विद्यात्कस्य किं फलम् ॥ १४३ ॥  
 स्वान्तस्योपप्लवः स्वप्ने स्मृतिबीजस्य बोधकः ।  
 तमादिजग [दभावाज्जाग्र] तोऽपि नोदेति स्वप्नदर्शनम् ॥ १४४ ॥  
 कामाद्युपप्लवेऽप्येवं कार्याधिक्यमुदाहृतम् ।  
 अप्राह्यमेव गृह्णाति स्वयं कल्पयति हयम् ॥ १४५ ॥  
 दोषक्षतस्यमनसस्तत्कार्यं [कल्प्यते] तदा ।  
 तदध्यारो [सोऽ] पि नो गौणी तथेत्यध्यवसायतः ॥ १४६ ॥  
 ख्यात्यसन्निहितेऽशून्यं सद्भावान्तरघटितम् ।  
 प्रभासतामसत्ता तु नो शून्यं तदनात्मकम् ॥ १४७ ॥  
 न संविदानुगुण्याय ब्रूमो येना[यद]वभासते ।  
 किं तु तन्नास्ति य[त]दसत्ख्यातावे [वनिराकृतम्] ॥ १४८ ॥  
 एवं निर्वचनीया च न [ना] विद्या परिभास्यति [हास्यते] ।  
 अविद्यात्वं यतोऽन्यस्य सान्यरूपं [ए] प्रकाशति [शिका] ॥ १४९ ॥

तस्या[न्यथामतिस्सेयं] तदभावे न वै मतिः[.] ।  
 कु[खा]ब्जादाविव काभ्रान्तिः काविद्या यत्र नो मता ॥ १५० ॥  
 स्वरूपेण प्रभिज्ञोय[प्रभिद्येत]नाविद्या [विद्यया यतः] ।  
 आत्मत्वेन [अतत्त्वेन] ग्रहस्तत्र विद्याविद्येति वर्ण्यते ॥ १५१ ॥  
 एव [वं च] परिशुद्धात्मख्यातेर्यत्प्रतिपक्षता ।  
 प्रवि व्ये मन्द फलं तेरूपस्य लोचनम् ॥ १५२ ॥  
 [एवं च प्रतिषिद्धात्मख्यातिर्या प्रतिपक्षिता ।  
 प्रविविच्येत हि फलमन्ते रूप्यस्यवाधनम् ॥]  
 बाधज्ञानस्य मिथ्यात्वं नान्यथा व्यवतिष्ठते ।  
 तेन यावद्बाधनीयं तावन्मिथ्येति युज्यते ॥ १५३ ॥  
 भ्रान्तिज्ञेये च बाह्यत्वं बाधकैर्न निरस्यते ।  
 न गम्यतेन्तर्वर्तित्वं नानिर्वाच्यतया मतिः ॥ १५४ ॥  
 किन्तु [न्त्व] तद्देशकालत्वं गम्यते बाह्यवस्तुनः ।  
 तस्मान्न बाह्य[ह्या]वस्तुत्वे [त्वं] मृषाबोधान्न बो[बा]धनात् ॥ १५५ ॥  
 प्रसक्तप्रतिषेधात्मा बाधोऽख्यातो[तौ] न युज्यते ।  
 प्रसज्जिता हि नाख्यातिरस्मत्पक्षे तु युज्यते ।  
 न चाग्रहनिषेधोऽयं सर्वज्ञानप्रसङ्गतः ॥ १५६ ॥  
 विवेकधीनिषेधोऽयं न प्रतीत्या तु गम्यते ।  
 न क्रमे यौगपद्ये वा विवेकमतिरीदृशी ॥ १५७ ॥  
 अविवेकग्रहः स्याच्चेत् सत्यं न तु विविक्तयोः ।  
 अग्रहे प्राप्त्यभावेन प्राप्तेः पूर्वं तु युज्यते ॥ १५८ ॥  
 स्यात्सर्वैवंविधावासा [बाधा] पश्चात्कर्मणि धर्मधीः ।  
 द्वयोरभावात्स्वप्ने च विवेको गम्यते त[क]योः ॥ १५९ ॥  
 स्मृति[त]त्वेनाविविक्ते चेत् तथा बाधा विहन्यते ।

[स्यात्सर्वैवंविधा बाधा पश्चात्कर्मणि धर्मधीः ॥] १६० ॥  
 तदुक्तं बाधकज्ञानात् वाचोयुक्तिरियं भवेत् ।  
 अर्थेऽन्यथापि सत्येष धिया कालः [धियाकारः] प्रतीयते ॥ १६१ ॥

आत्मख्यातौ सर्वमेवान्तराहुः  
 शून्यख्यातौ शून्यमेवेति केचित् ।  
 अख्यातौ नो तत्त्वमिध्याविभागः  
 तस्मादेषां विभ्रमाणां विवेकः ॥ १६२ ॥

इत्याचार्यमण्डनस्य कृतौ

विभ्रमविवेकः

समाप्तः

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श्रीः  
वीणावासवदत्तं<sup>१</sup> नाम नाटकम् ।

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः)<sup>२</sup>



सूत्रधारः—जयति गिरिसुतास्तनावमर्दप्रविरलभस्मविराजिपीनवक्षाः ।  
स्वशरद्वृतवहे हुतासुरश्रीः पितृवनरङ्गमहानटक्षिनेत्रः ॥

(परिक्रम्य नेपथ्याभिमुखमवलोक्य)

आर्ये ! इतस्तावत् ।

(प्रविश्य)

नटी—<sup>३</sup>अय्य ! इअं क्षि ।

सूत्र—आर्ये ! त्वद्गीतप्रसादिते रङ्गे किञ्चिन्नाटकमारब्धुमिच्छामि ।<sup>३</sup>

नटी—<sup>३</sup>असमत्था विअ अहं अज्ज गाइदुम् ।

सूत्र—किन्तु खलु कारणम् ? (विचिन्त्य) आः ज्ञातम् । कन्याप्रदानं प्रति मामनादरं  
मन्यसे ।

नटी—<sup>३</sup>दिट्ठिआ दाणिं वि सुमरिदिम् ।

सूत्र—आर्ये ! अलमतित्वरया । कुतः—

विवाहो जन्म मरणं यत्नं येन यदा भवेत् ।

तत्र तेन तदैवैतज्जायते किल नान्यथा ॥

१. आर्ये ! इयमस्मि ।

२. असमर्थेवाहमद्य गातुम् ।

३. दिष्ट्येदानीमपि स्मृतम् ।

1. There is nothing in the body of the manuscript to warrant this title. This is the name by which the work is known to the owner of the ms. There was a card tagged on to the ms. with this name.

2. This is one of the so-called "Bhāsa-features"

3. Cf. Pratijñāyāugandharāyaṇa. त्वं गीतप्रसादिते रङ्गे वयमपि प्रकरणमारभामहे. The names of the author and of the work are not given.

नटी—'अलं एरिसेण उत्तरेण । सम्पत्तजोव्वणा सा दारिआ । बहुआ तं पत्थयन्तो । अणु-  
रूवेसु कुलेसु कण्णाणं विवाहो कादव्वो ।

सूत्र—यद्येवं व्रतनियमोपवासैर्भगवन्तं महेश्वरमाराध्य तदभिप्रेताय दास्यामि । कुतः—

नृपमौलितलस्थाज्ञो जिष्णुरक्षोहिणीपतिः ।

[व्रतादि]'तावत्प्रद्योतः कर्तुमारब्धवान् यथा ॥

(निष्क्रान्तौ)

स्थापना<sup>१</sup> ॥

(ततः प्रविशति शालङ्कायनो वसुवर्मा च)

शाल—वसुवर्मेन् ! सर्वेष्वपत्येषु वासवदत्तां प्रत्यतिस्नेहता<sup>२</sup> महाराजस्य । कुतः—

'तामश्मकेश्वरसुतस्य सुनिश्चितोऽपि दातुं पुनः प्रवल्हार्दतया निवृत्य ।  
दास्यामि यद्यनुमतं भगवान् प्रदद्यात्तत्रेति शम्भुमभिराधयितुं प्रवृत्तः ॥

वसु—कथमिव तस्यामतिरेकस्नेहो<sup>३</sup> महाराजो न स्यात् । सा हि—

सौभाग्यश्रीविनयमधुरालापचातुर्यलज्जा-

लीलादीनां परमवनिताभूषणानां गुणानाम् ।

मञ्जुषेव क्षितिपवृषभे साध्विमां पालयेति

न्यस्तान्यत्र व्ययबहुलतां नेच्छता भूतधात्रा ॥

शाल—भोः कथाप्रसङ्गादविदितान्तरालमार्गाः प्रविष्टास्मश्चित्रमण्डपम् ।

(उभौ परिक्रम्य तिष्ठतः)

(प्रविश्य)

प्रतीहारी—<sup>४</sup>(सहर्षम्) अहो भट्टिणो <sup>५</sup>इस्सिविणदस्सणप्पवुत्तपीदिप्पवाहभरिदाए-

१. अलम्बितशेनोत्तरेण । संप्राप्तयौवना सा दारिका । बहुवृत्तां प्रार्थयमानाः । अनुरूपेषु कुलेषु  
कन्यकानां विवाहः कर्तव्यः ।

२. अहो ! भर्तुः स्वप्रदर्शनप्रवृत्तप्रीतिप्रवाहभरिततया त्वरमाणाय्यहं न पारयामि शीघ्रं गन्तुम् । अहो !  
अमात्य आर्यशालङ्कायनो वसुवर्मा च । भवतु । प्रियं निवेदयिष्यामि । अपि सुखमार्याणाम् । भर्तुरभिप्रेत-  
स्वप्रदर्शनेन वर्धापयन्तु ।

३. Three syllables are missing. To fit into  
the metre there must be ——. I suggest  
व्रतादि

४. This is another "Bhāṣa-feature."

५. अतिस्निग्धता or स्नेहातिरेकः is more  
idiomatic.

६. cf. Pra. अतिलोभाद्वरगुणानामतिस्नेहाच्च  
वासवदत्तायां न शक्नोमि निश्चयं गन्तुम्

७. This incident is not seen in Pra.

८. स्नेहातिरेको महाराजस्य will be happier.

९. सिविणः

तुवरन्ती वि अहं ण पारेमि सिग्घं गन्तुम् । (इति परिक्रम्य) अम्मो अमच्चो  
अय्य सालङ्कायणो वसुवर्मा अ । भोदु । पिअं णिवेदइस्सम् । (उपेल) सुहं  
अय्याणम् । भट्टिणो अभिप्पेदसिविणदस्सणेण वड्ढावीअदु [न्तु] ।

उभौ—एवंरूपाणां प्रियाख्यानशतानां निवेदिकैव भवतु भवती ।

शाल—भवति ! कुत्र खलु वर्तते महाराजः ?

प्रती—<sup>१</sup>सुणादु अय्यो सव्वम् । णियमणिहादो णिग्गच्छिअ भट्टा ह्माणगिहं पविसिअ  
सोव्वण्णपदुमपीठमज्झगओ रदणसिरीससिद्धत्थकुसुमगम्भेहिं मन्तपूदविमलसीदल-  
सुरभिसलिलसम्पुण्णोहिं मङ्गलकलसेहिं ह्माइअ किदमङ्गलसोत्थिविहाणो अहदक्खो-  
मणिवसणो हुदग्गिहोत्तो पुव्वोदरदिसाभाए कणअमदपीठे पुव्वमुहमुपविसिअ  
अज्जाणत्तसमुदीरिदेसु मङ्गलपट्टुत्तेसु [य्येषु] पुरोहिदप्पमुहाणं बह्णं रदण-  
पुण्णपाणीणं हेमासणगदाणं जहदिहं सिविणं णिवेदिअ तेहिं सव्वेहिं पसादुप्फुल्लवदणेहिं  
साहु साहु सफलो ति पुणो पुणो पसंसिअसिविणो विसज्जिअ तं जहाणुरूवं  
दुजादिजणं अय्येण भरदरोहएण सह कणअप्पासादादो ओदरइ ।

शाल—विजयाय ।

वसु—कुत्र पुनस्त्वं प्रस्थितासि ?

प्रती—<sup>२</sup>सव्वेसु देवाअदणेषु सविसेसा अज पूआ कादव्वत्ति कंचुईअस्स भवरादस्स  
णिवेदेदुम् ।

शाल—साधु, युक्तेतत् । गम्यताम् ।

प्रती—<sup>३</sup>अहं खु भट्टिणो आणात्ति अणुचिडिस्सम् ।

(निष्क्रान्ता)

शाल—(विलोक्य) अये ! अयं महाराजः ।

१. शृणोत्वार्थः सार्धम् । नियमगृहान्निर्गत्य भर्ता स्नानगृहं प्रविश्य सौवर्णपद्मपीठमध्यगतो रत्नशिरीष-  
सिद्धार्थकुपुमगर्भमन्त्रपूतविमलशीतलपुरभिसलिलसम्पूर्णमङ्गलकलशैः स्नात्वा कृतमङ्गलस्वस्तिविधानोऽहृतक्षौ-  
मनिवसनो हुताग्निहोत्रः पूर्वोत्तरदिशाभागे कनःमदपीठे पूर्वमुखमुपविश्य अस्मदाज्ञसमुदीरितेषु मङ्गलपट्ट-  
वह्णेषु [तृयेषु] पुरोहितप्रमुखाणां बहूनां रत्नार्णवाणीनां हेमासनगतानां यथाकृष्टं स्वप्नं निवेद्य तैः सर्वैः प्रसादो-  
त्फुल्लवदनैः साधु साधु सफल इति पुनः पुनः प्रशंसितस्वप्नो विसर्ज्य तं यथानुरूपं द्विजातिगणमार्येण भरत-  
रोहकण सह कनकप्रासादत अवतरति ।

२. सर्वेषु देवायतनेषु सविशेषाय पूजा कर्तव्येति कांचुकीयस्य भवरातस्य निवेदयितुम् ।

३. अहं खलु भर्तुराज्ञासिन्नुष्टास्यामि ।

विचित्य वत्सेश्वरकल्पवृक्षादस्नानशोभं गुणरत्नपुष्पम् ।

श्लोकस्त्रगेण प्रथितेव यत्नाद्दीहेमसूत्रेण महेश्वरेण ॥

शाल—सम्यगुपलक्षितं वसुवर्मणा ।

राजा—यद्यसौ सर्वगुणसम्पन्नस्तथाप्यहं नोत्सहे स्वां दुहितरं तस्मै दातुम् ।

भरत—किन्तु खलु कारणम् ?

राजा—<sup>२</sup>स हि

कुलबलमतिरूपविक्रमश्रुतिसाचिवाञ्जविशेषगर्वतः ।

न गणयति नरेश्वरान् क्षितौ<sup>३</sup> मृगपतिपोत इव द्विपेश्वरान् ॥

भरत—यद्येवं तमिह बध्वानीय सर्वेषां मदव्याधीनां चिकित्सा कर्तव्या ।

राजा—सखे किं तच्छक्यमिव ?

भरत—देवपादानामाज्ञामात्रापेक्षिण्यो ननु सर्वाः कार्यसिद्धयः ।

शाल—येन वयं संवन्धार्थिनस्तद्वन्धने को गुणः ?

भरत—साक्षात्कृत्य वरस्य गुणागुणयोर्निश्चयः कर्तव्यः न लोकरवतः ।<sup>४</sup>

शाल—किं स्वराज्यस्थ एव न शक्यः परीक्षितुम् ।

भरत—आपन्नाम—

नयक्षमाभृतिमतिशौर्यविक्रमप्रवीणताश्रुतबलवीर्यसम्पदः ।

स्वब्रान्धवप्रणयिजनांश्च देहिनां परीक्षितुं निकषाशिलेव निर्मिता ॥

शाल—यदि तस्य तथा गृह्यमाणस्यानिष्टं किञ्चित्स्यात् ।

भरत—तत्र तस्य वरगुणहीनतापरिव्यक्तिः शत्रुवधात्स्वामिनस्तेजोवृद्धिर्दर्शकस्य च पक्षाघातः ।

शाल—परीक्ष्यमाणस्सर्वैर्गुणैरसमन्वितो भवेत्ततः किम् ?

भरत—कीर्तिविशेषो लाभश्च ।

वसु—कथं लाभः ?

1. cf. Pr. दुहितुः प्रदानकाले दुःखशीला हि मातरः। तस्माद्देवी तावदाहूयताम् In this drama, he does not consult the queen at all.

2. cf. भामह ४. १०.

3. cf. Pr. न च मम परितोषो यन्न मां वत्स-  
राजः प्रणमति गुणशाली कुञ्जरज्ञानदन्तः ॥ and

महासेनशब्दमपि न गणयति । किं सम्बन्धमभिल-  
षति and उत्सुक्यत्येनं प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो  
वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारतो वंशः ।—दर्पयत्येनं  
दाशशायतो गान्धर्वो वेदः विभ्रमयत्येनं वयस्सहजं  
रूपम् । विभ्रमयत्येनं कथमप्युत्पन्नोऽस्य पौरानुरागः ।  
4. लोकमुद्धतः ?

भरत—स खलु गान्धर्वे हस्तिशिक्षायामस्त्रसम्पदि चैकवीर इति लोके गण्यते ।

यथाक्रमेण तत्तस्माच्छिष्यन्ते च नृपात्मजाः ।

दुष्टान् सर्वाश्च विधिवदमयिष्यति च द्विपान् ॥

शाल—वत्सराजभयान्ननु पाञ्चालोऽस्माननुवर्तते ?

भरत—अथकिम् ।

शाल—गृहीते तत्र भवति कौशाम्बीं प्रतिपत्स्यते सः । तद्वृद्धिरपि नोपेक्षितव्या ।

भरत—वत्सराजमेक्षभयात् द्विगुणं सर्वप्रदानैरारुणिरनुदिनमस्माकं महारजमाराधयिष्यति ।

अपि च—

अनिर्जितात्मा स्वाधिधेयबुद्धिः प्रचण्डदण्डो निकृतिप्रधानः ।

नाशो भवेत्तस्य विभूतिवृद्ध्या लतामिवृद्धयेव महीरुहस्य ॥

राजा—यदि तस्य परीक्ष्यमाणस्य लोकविख्याता गुणविभूतिरविसंवादिनी स्यात् किमस्माभिः  
कार्यम् ?

भरत—स नो महेश्वरानुमतो वरः ।

राजा—सञ्जयाय दास्यामीति शुल्कं प्रतिगृह्य तस्मै न दत्तवानिति नन्वस्माकमयशः ?

भरत—यथा वाच्यं दोषं [वाच्यदोषो] न भवति तथोपायं करिष्यामः ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—स्वयमेव नेष्यति ।

राजा—ततोऽपि ननु पापकरम् ।

भरत—तथापि दैवादुपपन्नमिव दृश्यते ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—यथाप्रतिज्ञादाने त्रयो दोषाः ।

राजा—के ते ?

भरत—शम्भोरभिप्रायव्यतिक्रमः, कोशक्षयः, राजपुत्र्या दुःखभागिता च ।

राजा—कथं कोशक्षयः ?

भरत—शुल्कात् द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं वा ननु तस्मै देयम् ।

राजा—धिगतिकार्षण्यमभिहितम् ।

सितरुचिरदुःखो निर्गतः खेलगामी नरपतिरुपवासकान्तदेहो विमानात् ।  
कनकगिरिगुहान्ताद्गन्धहस्तीव गौरः प्रचुरमदविसर्गात्किञ्चन क्षामगात्रः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति राजा भरतरोहकश्च)

राजा—सखे भरतरोहक ! मया सुखमिति वासवदत्तां दातुमेष संश्रितो मार्गः । वरप्रदानादपि दुःखे पुनर्माभियोजितवान् भगवान् भवः ।

भर—स्वामिन् ! शम्भोः प्रसादात्तदकृच्छ्रेणैव सिध्यति ।

राजा—तथास्तु ।

भर—देव ! उपवासश्रान्ततया न युक्तमिह चिरं स्थातुम् ।

(राजा आसनमारोहति)

शालङ्कायनवसुवर्माणौ—विजयतां देवः ।

शाल—अभिप्रेततमो महाराजेनाथ स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति सकलं राजकुलं प्रीतिविशेषादस्वतन्त्रमिव ।

राजा—नन्वार्यस्तं श्रोतुकामः ?

शाल—यदि देवस्यायासो न स्यात् ।

राजा—तत्सम्प्रधारणार्थमेव नन्विहागता वयम् ।

शाल—अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि ।

राजा—यः खल्वहं यथाविधानं व्रतनियमोपवासैर्देवपूजया दिवसं नीत्वा प्राप्तायां रजन्यां निद्रावशमुपगतवानस्मि ।

शाल—ततस्ततः ।

राजा—ततः—

प्रविलम्बभुजङ्गभोगहारं शशिलेखास्मितवज्जटाकिरीटम् ।

भगवन्तमुपेतमभ्यपश्यं गिरिशं भस्मविलेपनावदातम् ॥

शाल—अहो ! दैवसिद्धिः । ततस्ततः ।

राजा—ततस्तदर्शनात्समुदीर्णहर्षस्त्वरिततरमुत्थाय प्रणम्य गगनतलमभ्युच्छिताञ्जलिहस्तम-  
तिष्ठम् ।

शाल—ततस्ततः ।

राजा—ततस्स भगवान् सजलजलदमन्द्रस्तनितगम्भीरेण मनश्श्रुतिह्लादिना खरेणैकं श्लोक-  
मुक्त्वान्तर्हितः । अहमपि तेन ध्वनिना प्रबुद्धः ।

शाल—किं देवस्य स्मृतिपथमपि प्राप्तः स श्लोकः ?

राजा—श्रूयताम् ।

यो विक्रान्तः कुलीनो नयविनयपरः सर्वविद्याकलाज्ञो  
दाताव्याधिः कृताञ्जो व्यसनविमुखधीर्निर्विकारो विपत्सु ।  
मृत्योर्निर्भीक्ष्विरायुर्मृदुरतिसुभगो दीप्तिमान्प्राज्ञमन्त्री  
कन्या नीताप्यकामं भवति सुखयशोभागिनी तादृशेन ॥

शाल—चन्द्रिकास्थितिरिवेदं संवरणम् ।

राजा—सखे भरतरोहक ! येऽस्माभिसंबन्धकामाः को नु खलु तेषु सर्वैर्गुणैर्युक्तः ।

भरत—दूषिता इव ते सर्वे भगवता शर्वेण ।<sup>1</sup>

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—अश्मकराजसूनुः संजयो रुधिराद्वारी पानप्रसक्तश्च । माधुरो राजा जयवर्मा  
मूर्खः । काशीपतिर्विष्णुसेनो मृगयाक्षप्रसङ्गी ।

राजा—

एभिर्गुणैर्विरचितः पुरुषोऽस्त्यवश्यं यूयं गवेषयत बुद्धिविलोचनैस्तम् ।

तादृग्विधो भुवि न चेत्स्वयमभ्युपेत्य ब्रूयात्स्वयं<sup>2</sup> स भगवान्वृषराजकेतुः ॥

वसु—सदृशमुक्तं प्रज्ञातिशयस्य ।

भरत—मागधो राजा दर्शकः क्रूरः । अङ्गेश्वरो जवरथो विरूपः । मत्स्याधिपतिः शत-  
मन्युर्मत्सरी । सिन्धुराजः सुबाहुर्भीरुः ।

राजा—किं त्वमसि वक्तुकाम इव ?

वसु—उपलक्षित इव मया शङ्करानुमतो वरः ।

राजा—कथयतु भवान्, कथयतु ।

वसु—त्वासः पुनर्मा वारयति ।

राजा—मन्त्रो ननु वर्तते ।

वसु—एवं मन्ये ।

1. cf. Pr. महासेनं वर्जयित्वा नदीदानीमेते  
गुणाः कचिवेकस्था दृश्यन्ते ।

2. कथम् Supported by Vatsarājaprahandha  
also.

## वीणावासवदत्तम् ।

विचित्य वत्सेश्वरकल्पवृक्षादम्लानशोभं गुणरत्नपुष्पम् ।

श्लोकसंगेषा प्रथितेव यत्नाद्भीहिमसूत्रेण महेश्वरेण ॥

शाल—सम्यगुपलक्षितं वसुवर्मणा ।

राजा—यद्यसौ सर्वगुणसम्पन्नस्तथाप्यहं नोत्सहे स्वां दुहितरं तस्मै दातुम् ।

भरत—किन्तु खलु कारणम् ?

राजा—<sup>१</sup>स हि

कुलबलमतिरूपविक्रमश्रुतिसाचिवास्त्रविशेषगर्वतः ।

न गणयति नरेश्वरान् क्षितौ<sup>३</sup> मृगपतिपोत इव द्विपेश्वरान् ॥

भरत—यद्येवं तमिह बध्नीय सर्वेषां मदव्याधीनां चिकित्सा कर्तव्या ।

राजा—सखे किं तच्छक्यमिव ?

भरत—देवपादानामाज्ञामात्रापेक्षिण्यो ननु सर्वाः कार्यसिद्धयः ।

शाल—येन वयं संबन्धार्थिनस्तद्वन्धने को गुणः ?

भरत—साक्षात्कृत्य वरस्य गुणागुणयोर्निश्चयः कर्तव्यः न लोकरवतः ।<sup>४</sup>

शाल—किं स्वराज्यस्य एव न शक्यः परीक्षितुम् ।

भरत—आपन्नाम—

नयक्षमाधृतिमतिशौर्यविक्रमप्रवीणताश्रुतबलवीर्यसम्पदः ।

स्वबान्धवप्रणयिजनांश्च देहिनां परीक्षितुं निकप्राशिलेव निर्मिता ॥

शाल—यदि तस्य तथा गृह्यमाणस्यानिष्टं किञ्चित्स्यात् ।

भरत—तत्र तस्य वरगुणहीनतापरिव्यक्तिः शत्रुवधात्स्वामिनस्तेजोवृद्धिर्दर्शकस्य च पक्षाघातः ।

शाल—परीक्ष्यमाणस्सर्वैर्गुणैरसमन्वितो भवेत्ततः किम् ?

भरत—कीर्तिविशेषो लाभश्च ।

वसु—कथं लाभः ?

1. cf. Pr. दुहितुः प्रदानकाले दुःखशीला हि मातरः। तस्माद्देवी तावदाह्वयताम् In this drama, he does not consult the queen at all.

2. cf. भामह 4. 10.

3. cf. Pr. न च मम परितोषो अन्न मां वत्स- राजः प्रणमति गुणशाली कुञ्जरज्ञानदन्तः ॥ and

महासेनशब्दमपि न गणयति । किं सम्यन्धमभिल- षति and उत्संक्रयत्येनं प्रकाशराजर्षिनामधेयो वेदाक्षरसमवायप्रविष्टो भारतो वंशः ।—दर्पयत्येनं दायाशागतो गान्धर्वो वेदः विभ्रमयत्येनं वयस्सहजं रूपम् । विस्मयत्येनं कथमप्युत्पन्नोऽस्य पौरानुरागः । 4. लोकमुत्ततः ?

## वीणावासवदत्तम् ।

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भरत—स खलु गान्धर्वे हस्तिशिक्षायामस्त्रसम्पदि चैकवीर इति लोके गण्यते ।

यथाक्रमेण तत्तस्माच्छिष्यन्ते च नृपात्मजाः ।

दुष्टान् सर्वाश्च विधिवद्दमयिष्यति च द्विपान् ॥

शाल—वत्सराजभयान्ननु पाञ्चालोऽस्माननुवर्तते ?

भरत—अथकिम् ।

शाल—गृहीते तत्र भवति कौशाम्बीं प्रतिपत्स्यते सः । तद्वद्विरपि नोपेक्षितव्या ।

भरत—वत्सराजमोक्षभयात् द्विगुणं सर्वप्रदानैरारुणिरनुदिनमस्माकं महारजमाराधयिष्यति ।

अपि च—

अनिर्जितात्मा स्वविधेयबुद्धिः प्रचण्डदण्डो निकृतिप्रधानः ।

नाशो भवेत्तस्य विभूतिवृद्ध्या लताभिवृद्धयेव महीरुहस्य ॥

राजा—यदि तस्य परीक्ष्यमाणस्य लोकविख्याता गुणविभूतिरविसंवादिनी स्यात् किमस्माभिः कार्यम् ?

भरत—स नो महेश्वरानुमतो वरः ।

राजा—सञ्जयाय दास्यामीति शुल्कं प्रतिगृह्य तस्मै न दत्तवानिति नन्वस्माकमयशः ?

भरत—यथा वाच्यं दोषं वाच्यदोषोऽन भवति तथोपायं कारिष्यामः ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—स्वयमेव नेष्यति ।

राजा—ततोऽपि ननु पापकरम् ।

भरत—तथापि दैवादुपपन्नमिव दृश्यते ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—यथाप्रतिज्ञादाने त्रयो दोषाः ।

राजा—के ते ?

भरत—शम्भोरभिप्रायव्यतिक्रमः, कोशक्षयः, राजपुत्र्या दुःखभागिता च ।

राजा—कथं कोशक्षयः ?

भरत—शुल्कात् द्विगुणं त्रिगुणं वा ननु तस्मै देयम् ।

राजा—धिगतिकार्षण्यमभिहितम् ।

वीणावासवदत्तम् ।

भरत—देव ! कार्येषु गुरुलाघवं नन्वत्र चिन्त्यते ।

राजा—ततस्ततः ।

भरत—वत्सराजः [जस्य] स्वयं प्रदाने सञ्जये प्रीतिविश्लेषो[षे]ऽपि संवादिता जातिकीर्त्तय  
[जतिः कीर्तिश्च] ।<sup>1</sup>

राजा—नन्वत्रापि विद्यते कोशक्षयः ।

भरत—आरुणिरस्मत्कटाक्षसाध्यः तस्मात्स्वराज्यप्रदानादेव सत्कृतो भविष्यति ।

शाल—युक्तमभिहितं भवता ।

भरत—प्रसह्य हरणे केवलं प्रमादिताख्यातिः किमेतत्स्वयंभरम् [स्वयंप्रदानाद्वरम्] । सदोषेषु  
कार्येषु यदल्पदोषं तत्प्रारब्धव्यम् ।<sup>2</sup>

वसु—स्वामिन् ! तत्राप्यहं वाच्यदोषं न पश्यामि । कुतः—

नीता बलात्प्रकृतिभद्रतरा सुभद्रा यद्वासुभद्रभगिनी कपिकेतनेन ।

देवस्य तेन समभूद्वचनीयता किं तेजःप्रकाशयशसां यदुदन्तिनां वा ॥

शाल—साधु निरुक्तमभिहितं वसुवर्मणा ।

भरत—देवस्यापि स एव विधिरिष्ट इव दृश्येत ।

राजा—कथमिव ?

भरत—तद्विधिप्रधानो हि श्लोकार्थः ।<sup>3</sup>

राजा—स्यदेतत् ।

शाल—भो ! अस्ति पुनरुपायो वत्सराजं गृहीतुम् ?<sup>4</sup>

भर—आर्य विद्यते ।

शाल—कः खलु ?

भर—स किल—

बाल्ये गजोऽस्मीति नरेन्द्रमार्गे क्रीडन्सहायैः सह हर्षमत्तैः ।

अङ्गारकं नाम मुनिं प्रयान्तं मुहुर्मुहुः पांसुभिरभ्यषिञ्चत् ॥<sup>5</sup>

1. The passage is not at all clear. The text is very much mutilated. It may be वत्सराजस्य संप्रदाने संजयप्रीतिविश्लेषोऽपि.....

2. This may well be broken up as राजा—

प्रसह्य हरणे केवलं प्रमादिताख्यातिः । किमेतत्स्वयं प्रदानाद्वरम् ।

भर—सदोषेषु कार्येषु यदल्पदोषं तत्प्रारब्धव्यम् ।

3. cf. कन्या नीताप्यकामम् ।

4. This is not a motive for capturing Udayana in Pr.

5. This is in conflict with Bṛhatkathā-ślokaśaṅgraha and Bṛhatkathāmañjarī according to which Udayana was brought up in a hermitage.

